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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

WEEKLY NEWS LETTER

The A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter contains a brief summary of important matters affecting labor, occurring in the industrial, legislative, and judicial fields, and such other information that will benefit the trade union movement.

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VOL. 2. NO. 34 WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 23, 1912. WHOLE NO. 86

JIM LYNCH EMPHATIC.

Rochester, Nov. 23.—At a public reception tendered to the Typographical Union delegates to the American Federation of Labor by the local Typographical Union President Lynch, in his address, was emphatic and humorous. He referred to the small number of members of the local union compared with the total number of printers employed in the city and stated, among other things: "I believe it will require something drastic; such as cutting their wages in two and doubling their hours of labor to convince nonunion printers that they should come into the union. I am ashamed to reveal the wage scale you are working under to our visitors here. Now, then, I hope that I have insulted you enough so that you will join the Typographical Union, if for the only reason of voting against me at the next election." Upon the conclusion of Mr. Lynch's address he received a demonstration worth while. Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, also spoke, confining his remarks to the general labor movement.

AGAINST THE STOP WATCH.

Saginaw, Mich., Nov. 23.—The metal polishers and other employes of a local automobile company have been successfull in securing an agreement, which eliminates what was termed the "standard system." This was only another name for the much-heralded "Taylor system" of efficiency, although the "standard system" went the Taylor system one better. Under it, a man with a stop-watch stood behind the metal polisher and timed him while performing the operation. Picking up the material and placing it in the machine or laying it down did not count, and was called "unproductive labor." If the machinery went wrong or the power stopped, this was also denominated "unproductive," and the time not counted. The time was taken according to this plan on three or four pieces of material, and then it was figured out how many pieces could be made in a day at that rate of speed, which was called one hundred per cent of efficiency. Over one hundred per cent efficiency men were to be paid a bonus, but those reaching the one hundred per cent mark were paid only $1.75. This situation became intolerable, and the men found it impossible to even make $1.75, as the speed under which the ratings were based could not be maintained for an entire day. Owing to the dissatisfaction arising out of this system a strike was called, and all the employes came out. These men were unorganized, but since they have been successful in their strike, efforts are being made to form a permanent organization.

A NEW TWIST.

Erie, Pa., Nov. 23.—A short time ago a notice was posted in the street car barns to the effect that beginning November 1 cars on certain streets would be operated with only one man. The company intends to withdraw the conductors from these lines and put the motorman in complete charge of the car. The local division of the street railway employes point out that the extra work upon the motorman would be so great as to make it extremely difficult for him to use the proper safeguards in running his car. To make change, issue transfers, watch passengers get on or off and using precaution in the operation of his car is too much of a task to insure even a modicum of safety. It is claimed by the organized men also that this change is in violation of the agreement which the company signed on October 1. It is asserted that the public generally will support the employes of the street car company, if they decide to combat the new order, as the service now given is far from satisfactory and the elimination of the conductors from the cars would make it more so.

I. T. U. FUNDS.

Indianapolis, Nov. 23.—The International Typographical Union, by referendum vote, has just amended a section of its by-laws relating to the investment of surplus funds of the organization. The executive council is now authorized to invest all funds in excess of $50,000 in bonds of the United States or in non-taxable State, county, township, city or school bonds. The council is also empowered, if deemed advisable, to deposit the funds of the International Union in any reputable bank or banks selected and accept as security bonds from any approved surety company of good reputation. Under this law the executive council has invested $125,000 in approved securities, and as soon as other bonds of known value can be procured, an additional $75,000 will be invested. These investments will net between 3 1-2 per cent and 4 per cent interest.

RULES ON LABOR DAY.

Washington, Nov. 23.—By a ruling of the Comptroller of the Treasury, just handed down, those per diem navy yard employers who worked last Labor Day get their regular per diem and nothing more. If it had been January 1, February 22, July 4, Memorial Day, or Thanksgiving Day, they would get double pay. Comptroller Tracewell finds that the law specifically provides that all employes who work on the holidays last named shall receive double pay, but that when Labor Day was established by law the provision for extra pay in case of working was not extended to this holiday. Therefore, he says, Labor Day, is on the same status as Saturday afternoons. The decision applies to all navy yard employes, the Government Printing Office, and the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, who are paid on a per diem basis, and all other per diem employes of the government.

CHILD LABOR AND HEALTH.

Washington, Nov. 23.—"Child labor predisposes to tuberculosis. This does not apply exclusively to child labor in the factory. In many cases child labor in the home is as bad as in the factory, and the danger from tuberculosis is just as great. Tuberculosis is a social disease in the final analysis. It cannot be eradicated until we have social justice." These are among the statements made in a paper before the recent Congress on Hygiene and Demography in Washington by Dr. S. Adolphus Knopf, of New York.

WIN CONTENTIONS.

Minneapolis, Minn., Nov. 23.—Fifty-two union upholsterers employed in the wholesale department of a local furniture company in this city have returned to work, after being on strike against the ventilating system. The company involved has agreed to install an adequate ventilating system within a specified time or forfeit an amount in accordance with the law governing the sanitation of factories and workshops.

POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS WIN

Washington, Nov. 23.—For many years the American Federation of Labor worked unceasingly for the establishment by the government of postal savings banks, and as a result the government finally took favorable action and instituted these depositories in the post-offices throughout the country on July 1, 1919. These banks met with instant popularity and, according to the latest available figures, just made public by the postmaster general, shows that a large sum of money is deposited with the government, the deposits having reached approximately $28,000,000. This amount has been deposited by 290,000 individuals, making an average of $86 per depositor. The system is now operated in 12,773 post-offices, including 644 branch offices and stations. To date 7,357 banks have qualified to receive postal savings funds, the act passed by Congress providing that such institutions shall be solvent banks organized under national or State laws and subject to national or State supervision and examination. At the will of the depositor deposits can be converted into United States two and a half per cent interest bearing bonds. Applications for this convertion of deposits into bonds must be made on or before December 2, and depositors may exchange the whole or part of their savings deposits for bonds, registered or coupon, in denominations of $20, $100 or $500 as they elect. There has been three bond issues thus far, the last one being made on July 1. Under the law bonds are issued only on January 1 and July 1 of each year, and originally applicants had to make application at least fifteen days before either of these dates, but now thirty days' notice is required.

PROPOSED PENSION PLAN.

Washington, Nov. 23.—The press reports state that $10,000,000 have been set aside by the Bell system, embracing the Bell Telephone Company and associated companies, for pensions, sick benefits, and life insurance for the 175,000 employes and their families. It is said that under the terms of the new pension plan employes sixty or more years of age, who have been twenty or more years in the service, may retire on pensions, and those who are fifty-five or more years old and have been in the service twenty-five years or more, may be retired at the option of the company. The pension age of females is five years younger. The plan for distributing the pension is based on length of service, as stated, and the amount of pay received. A man thirty years in the service is promised 30 per cent of his annual pay for the last ten years preceding retirement, no pension to be less than $20 per month. Sickness and accident disabilities are provided for employes, and in case death resulting from accident in the service, insurance amounting to three years' salary will be paid, the maximum, however, to be $5,000. The American Federation of Labor, in its advocacy of humane treatment of employes, is no doubt responsible in large measure for companies of this character making provision for those who are employed by them.

NEW BOOK ON CHILD LABOR.

Washington, Nov. 23.—Lawlessness, directly encouraged by child labor, is one of the more subtle effects set forth in the new "History of English Apprenticeship and Child Labor," by Jocelyn Dunlop and R. D. Denman, M. P., London. The book exposes the fallacy of the theory that children did not work prematurely and under bad conditions before the nineteenth century, but it also shows in detail how the modern child wage-earner differs from his predecessor. He is an independent wage-earner, free from restraint of any kind; machinery has made his work as valuable as an adult's; and the character of his work has ceased to be educative and has become deadening when not actually demoralizing. The child laborer of today tends always to become the lawless, useless citizen, incompetent and unemployed.

ELECTRIC COMPANY PERSISTS.

Erie, Pa., Nov. 23.—The General Electric Company, of this city, is still continuing its methods of intimidation among its employes, especially in the pattern department, where the skilled mechanics have shown a persistent desire to become affiliated with the organization of their craft. It will be remembered that the News Letter some time ago contained the story of the discrimination by this company, it having discharged a number of pattern makers who became members of the Pattern Makers' League. An organizer for the league is in this city assisting the men who are involved.

PRINTERS GET INCREASE.

Washington, Nov. 23.—Columbia Typographical Union has been successful in negotiating a new wage scale, carrying with it an increase of 5 per cent. The present scale in Washington in the newspaper offices, which went into effect Monday, November 11, is $27.96 for all journeymen on the composing room floor, the hours being fixed at seven per day. The present scale, with price and a half for overtime, makes the weekly wage in Washington in the newspaper offices compare favorably with other scales throughout the country.

ALABAMA MINERS.

Washington, Nov. 23.—According to Fuel, a magazine devoted to the mining interests, the possibility of increased wages for the coal miners of Alabama is being discussed with considerable interest by both miners and operators. Operators who are members of the Alabama Coal Operators' Association a few months ago raised wages to 55 cents a ton, and it is reported that this will soon be done by other operators. Some of the independent operators have increased wages to 57 1-2 cents per ton.

ANOTHER LABEL SHOP.

Jamestown, N. Y., Nov. 23.—A local union of garment workers was recently organized here in one of the large clothing manufacturing establishments. It is confidently expected that in a short time the firm will be using the union label on all its goods. No friction has yet attended the organization, and an agreement carrying an increase in wages will be executed in the near future.

MUST PASS HEALTH TEST.

Albany, N. Y., Nov. 23.—Attorney General Carmody, in an opinion issued recently, holds that under an amendment to the State labor law made this year it is necessary before a child between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years may be employed in any factory in this State that such child shall be examined as to physical fitness by a medical officer of the State Labor Department or by a health officer.

SUIT TO DISSOLVE CLERKS

Lafayette, Ind., Nov. 23.—Proceedings have been brought in the Circuit Court of Tippecanoe County, this city, to dissolve the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association. The proceedings have been filed in the name of the State on the complaint of Susie Wolgamont. The complainant has been an employe in the general offices of the clerks for many years, but through some disagreement is now not employed by the organization. Miss Wolgamont alleges that she is a member in good standing of the organization and that the International Union has been acting as a corporation without having been incorporated. The complainant asks that the banks holding the funds of the International Union be restrained from paying any more money to the officers, and that a receiver be appointed to take charge of the property and that the money be returned to the members. The local clerks' union has been involved in a strike against a department store here since last August, and some of those on strike have been drawing benefits from the organization since that time. It is strongly intimated that the proceedings in court can be connected in some way with this difficulty. The officers of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association do not take the filing of this suit seriously and are not worried over the outcome.

AGAINST PRISON LABOR.

Richmond, Va., Nov. 23.—A voluminous petition against prison contract labor in this State has been presented to the Governor by President Davidson, of the State Federation of Labor. Thirty thousand Virginians protested against the continuation of the present convict contract system. It has been the policy of the State to lease convicts to private contractors for manufacturing purposes. The Legislature of Virginia created a board of charities and corrections in the belief that their investigations and recommendations would be profitable to the State. The board of charities and corrections, in making its report, made the following recommendation: "If it is contended that some of our convicts cannot be controlled on farms or on the roads, we reply that if, after experiment, it is found that some of these men cannot be safely or successfully employed as above suggested, they can be put to work inside the walls of the prison in the manufacture of clothing and other material used by our State institutions, and thus be made profitable without being brought into competition with honest labor." The matter of leasing convicts has been placed in the hands of the board of charities and corrections, of which the Governor is an ex-officio member. The petitions now being sent to the Governor are indicative of the feeling among the people of the State and it is hoped, at least, that the board having the matter in charge will decide to abandon the system which has been in vogue.

ARRANGING EFFICIENCY TEST.

Washington, Nov. 23.—The testing of government clerks to ascertain their efficiency will soon be begun by the Civil Service Commission in compliance with a law recently passed by Congress. This efficiency test is provided for in a provision of the legislative, judicial, and executive bill, which requires that the Civil Service Commission shall, subject to the approval of the President, establish a system of efficiency ratings for the classified service in the several executive departments in the District of Columbia, based upon the records kept in each department and independent establishments, with such frequency as to make them as nearly as possible record of fact. All promotions, demotions, and dismissals will be governed by provisions of the civil service rules. It is stated by one of the government officials that great care is being exercised in making the system as nearly perfect as possible, in order that it may be both fair to the employes and at the same time serve as a correct means for determining the fitness of employes and the work performed by them.

UNVEIL MONUMENT.

Chicago, Nov. 23.—To mark the last resting place of Charles Lazinskus and Frank Nagrikus a monument has been erected by the District Council of the United Garment Workers' of America in Chicako. The exercises were attended by a large number of members of this city. The two men mentioned were shot in the great struggle of the Garment Workers to eliminate the sweat shops of the clothing manufacturers in Chicago. The exercises were attended by a large number of members of the Garment Workers as well as other union men and appropriate addresses were delivered. The memory of these men will live, for it was through their efforts that the Garment Workers of Chicago were enabled to secure better conditions and command a recognition of the employers.

STEEL WORKERS.

Pittsburgh, Nov. 23.—Secretary W. F. Tighe of the Amalgamated Association of Steel Workers reports that as a result of the bi-monthly settlement, based on the selling price of bar iron for the sixty days preceding November 1, the puddlers connected with the Amalgamated Association of Steel Workers have received an advance of 15 cents per ton, making the current price $6.15 per ton. During July and August the puddling rate was $5.85 per ton and was advanced 15 cents per ton, or to $6, for September and October. As noted, another 15 cents per ton has been added. The bar and guide mill workers have also received an advance of one per cent, placing their wages 6 per cent above the base of the association's sliding scale.

METAL TRADES.

Washington, Nov. 22.—At the recent convention of the Metal Trades in Rochester, N. Y., it was agreed by the delegates to recommend to the organizations affiliated the appointment of an organizer from each international organization for the purpose of conducting an organizing campaign among the metal trades during the coming year. It is expected that all of the metal trades organizations will respond to this plan, the effect of which will be to inaugurate a revival in the metal trades and secure a large number of local councils, as well as an increased membership.

MANY MEETINGS HELD.

Rochester, Nov. 22.—On Sunday, November 17, a large number of prominent labor officials spoke to audiences congregated in halls, theaters and churches. President Gompers, Treasurer Lennon and Raymond Robbins spoke at a public mass meeting in Convention Hall. The fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, Messrs. Seddon and Smillie, spoke in one of the theaters, while a number of others occupied pulpits in the various churches.

OHIO UNION MEN ELECTED.

Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 23.—Secretary Harry D. Thomas, of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, states that William Green, member of the United Mine Workers, of Coshocton, and A. Potting, a member of the Typographical Union, of Ravenna, Ohio, have been elected State senators. Harry Vollmer, a union machinist, Cleveland; George Doster, a union carpenter, Cleveland; Frank Thomas, a union printer, Bowling Green; O. B. Chapman, a union painter, Dayton; Percy Tetlow, a union coal miner, Washingtonville; A. Creunelle and James Nye, union bottle blowers, Toledo; W. R. Colton, union locomotive engineer, Toledo, and John Shawley, a union telegrapher, Kent, Ohio, have been elected members of the popular branch of the Legislature.

GIVES OUT OPINION.

Washington, Nov. 23.—Attorney General Wickersham recently submitted his opinion to the Navy Department relative to the operation of the new eight-hour law. His opinion is to the effect that laborers and mechanics employed on government work, in private ship yards, and by other contractors, are not prohibited by the amendment to the naval appropriation bill and adopted by the last Congress from working additional hours upon other than government work in the same establishment after the performance of eight hours of work on government contracts. The contractors, according to the opinion, are also relieved from the application of the eight hour law to work done in the preparation of raw material which is not specifically known to be intended for government uses and in the general operation of a plant not devoted to government work. Whether the interpretation of this law will work out to the satisfaction of both employer and employe remains to be seen, but in all probability it will not. The fact that the Fore River Ship Building Company, of Quincy, Mass., formerly a nine-hour establishment, went to the eight hour day in every department, indicates that where government work is being performed by private contract a strict observance of the eight hour law will be of as much benefit to the employers as to the employes and eliminate useless friction.

MINERS DISSATISFIED.

London, Nov. 23.—Reynolds', the great weekly paper of England, has this trenchant editorial in its last issue: "No sane and healthy person grudges the miners the advantages gained from the late strike. Indeed, to any one who has the remotest knowledge of the hardships of a miner's life, the minimum demanded seemed ridiculously inadequate. And yet many colliery owners are now trying to evade the responsibilities imposed upon them by the act. We know for a fact that some coal fields are again seething with discontent; men are angry, and rapidly becoming desperate at the way in which the owners are endeavoring to force them to contract outside the scope of the act. We hope a more reasonable attitude will be adopted ere another outbreak occurs, for, if the men are again driven to a 'down tools' policy, the fight will not be waged in the same conciliatory spirit as before. And if a million angy miners strike—well, national disaster will be the inevitable result."

CIVIL SERVICE JOBS OPEN.

Washington, Nov. 23.—Radio research, scientific housekeeping and practical dairying are the three divergent subjects for which the civil service board now wants applicants. The Bureau of Mines needs an assistant versed in radio activity and kindred chemical research. He will get $1,800 to $2,000, according to circumstances. The other positions will be somewhere in Caltifornia or the Southwest. The requirements for the positions are general education, sanitation and hygiene, home management, laundry, domestic supplies, cooking, care and feeding of children, home nursing and plain and fancy sewing. The Department of Agriculture also wants a practical dairyman who understands the Babcock test for milk to take entire charge of the dairy herd at Beltsville, Md.

SUGAR COMPANY FINED.

Philadelphia, Nov. 23.—A total of $50 and costs was the fine imposed upon the Spreckles Sugar Refining Company by a local magistrate, although it was conclusively proven by the Consumers' League that seven girls under eighteen years of age have been employed at the refinery all night in defiance of the State factory laws. It seems that it has been the practice of this company to pay no heed to the law against employing women below a certain age at night work.

The Consumers' League is making every effort to eradicate the system of working girls at night, and asserts that it stands ready to obtain new places for employes where they lose their positions on account of giving evidence of violation of law against the company.

ELECTED TO LEGISLATURE.

Pittsburg, Nov. 23.—William S. Bigger, general organizer of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, has been elected to the Legislature from the Eighth Legislative District of Pennsylvania. Mr. Bigger is the author of the eight-hour bill passed at the last session of the Legislature. Mr. Bigger has been a persistent and loyal champion of the shorter work day in Pennsylvania, and while a former eight-hour law has been declared unconstitutional, he hopes to see his last bill stand the test of the courts.

PRINTER ELECTED SENATOR.

Philadelphia, Nov. 22.—Richard V. Farley, a union printer, was elected at the recent election to the State Senate of Pennsylvania from the Fifth Senatorial district. Mr. Farley defeated William H. Keyser, who has been a member of the legislature for the last quarter of a century, and who was considered as one of the important cog wheels in the once-dominant State political machine.

MIGRATORY WORKERS.

Rochester, Nov. 23.—The California delegation to the convention of the American Federation of Labor is author of a resolution which, if adopted, will put into effect the recommendation made by President Gompers relative to migratory workers. In all probability the resolution will be favorably reported and adopted by the convention.

UNABLE TO ENFORCE LAW

Trenton, N. J., Nov. 23.—While there are many pseudo political economists who vehemently claim that the conditions of the working people can be bettered, established, and controlled by political action alone, an instance in this city belies the efficacy of this plan of procedure. A meeting was recently held in the Young Women's Christian Association rooms, at which about sixty lady clerks in the department stores of this city were in attendance. The object of the meeting was to discuss the means whereby the ten-hour law for women, passed by the last Legislature, could be enforced. These women are unorganized, and realize their helplessness in enforcing any law adopted in their interest. Representatives from the Central Labor Union, as well as from the local unions in the city, together with one or two organizers representing international crafts, addressed the women clerks and took the position that in order to make their efforts effective it would be necessary that they organize a union. While an organization was not perfected at the first meeting, arrangements have been made for a meeting in the immediate future, and it is hoped that a strong organization can be secured.

BEAT THE CANDIDATE.

St. Louis, Nov. 23.—John C. McKinley, Republican candidate for Governor of Missouri, was defeated. Labor organizations of the State fought him to the last minute. The candidate had made himself particularly obnoxious to the printing trades in that he was a noisy advocate in favor of having the school books of the State printed in the penal institutions by convicts. The candidate apparently was entirely out of touch with the consensus of opinion at the present time relative to the employment of convicts. Hardly a State in the Union but that can furnish its convicts with employment in manufacturing those things which penal and other State supported institutions consume. No objection has ever been raised against the employment of convicts upon State roads. The twentieth century opinion is to the effect that the convicts should be furnished employment, but not in the manufacture of products which come in competition with the products of free labor. McKinley received what was coming to him. He was defeated, and it was a good thing for the State that he was.

UNCLE JOE TO GO.

Washington, Nov. 23.—"Uncle Joe" Cannon, ex-Speaker of the House of Representatives, and one of the picturesque figures in national political life, was handed his discharge papers by the people of the Eighteenth Illinois district on election day, and after March 4, 1913, the angular form of "Uncle Joe" will be conspicuous by its absence from the floor of the popular branch of the United tSates Congress. Unyielding in his attitude toward the measures for securing labor a square deal, he has at least been consistent in continuously standing against them. The storm of popular indignation, however, which has been gathering for six years, not only overwhelmed "Uncle Joe," but carried with it a large number of those who held views similar to the ex-Speaker, but who only on rare occasions had courage to voice them publicly. Labor can well spare "Uncle Joe" from the legislative halls of our government.

WORK 70 TO 83 HOURS A WEEK.

Worcester, Mass., Nov. 23.—According to information received by the organizing committee of the Central Labor Union nine women are reported to be working from seventy to eighty-three hours a week in the freight offices of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. The time sheets issued by the State police are posted in the freight offices, but notwithstanding this, other methods of keeping time are in effect, and show that six women during a recent week worked seventy hours each, one seventy-three hours, one seventy-six hours, and one eighty-three hours. The law in this State makes fifty-four hours the limit of time which any firm can employ women and children without violating the State law. The Central Labor Union is making an endeavor to follow this matter up and will insist upon an enforcement of the law.

SYSTEM FOR MAIL SERVICE.

Washington, Nov. 23.—A general scheme for the placing of the entire railway mail service of the United States on a merit and efficiency basis to obtain for every one of the 18,000 employes the full measure of benefits under the recent legislation by Congress, providing for higher pay, is being worked out by a special committee, consisting of fifteen railway mail service superintendents. The railway mail service has always had an efficiency rating system, but does not fully meet the modern conception. A system that will put every employe on an absolute efficiency basis and merit system, it is said, is being perfected. Future promotions will be only on merit, with an efficiency rating as a basis. The maximum pay to be reached under this system of promotion will be $1,800 a year instead of $1,600. Congress increased the entrance compensation from $900 to $1,000.

ONE-DAY STRIKE WINS.

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 22.—The differences between the Chicago Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Helpers' Union and the team owners, which precipitated the strike a short time ago, have been settled. The demand of the teamsters for a wage increase of $1.50 a week has been granted. The strike was due principally to disagreements between the Chicago Team Owners' Association and the Chicago Cartage Club, the first named organization having agreed to pay its members the raise in question, while the latter organization refused. This precipitated the difficulty, but, as stated, a settlement has been reached, and the teamsters, after one day's idleness, returned to work.

TAILORS WIN STRIKE.

Savannah, Ga., Nov. 22.—The local Tailors' Union in this city, after a strike of two days's duration, has entered into an agreement with all the ladies' tailoring establishments in this city, the employers having acceded to the demands made by the tailors. The controversy came about over the insistance of the local union on a nine-hour day, which has been granted.

ASPHALT WORKERS ORGANIZE.

Pittsburg, Nov. 22.—An organization of men engaged in the laying of asphalt streets has been organized with a good sized charter list. The new organization is chartered by the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flagg Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters.

HEARINGS ON SEAMEN'S BILL

Washington, Nov. 22.—Hearings on the seamen's bill, H. R. 23673, will be commenced by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Commerce, on Monday, November 25, in this city. The bill passed the House of Representatives August 3, 1912. This bill is being championed by the American Federation of Labor and the International Seamen's Union, and was introduced by Congressman W. B. Wilson, chairman of the House Labor Committee. Its enactment into law will give freedom to the seamen, who are now subject to antiquated and onerous regulations incorporated into the law, and will materially assist in up-building the American merchant marine without subsidies, and promoting safety of life at sea and on the great lakes. This bill provides for the adequate manning of ships by skilled and able-bodied seamen for the purpose of preventing accidents of the Titanic character. For many years prior to the great sea tragedy the organized seamen have pointed to the danger to life and property on passenger and freight-carrying vessels by undermanning and the employment of crews insufficient in number and totally without sea experience. From present indications it is believed that the coming short session of Congress will witness the passage of this bill by the Senate and approval by the President.

REPREHENSIBLE TACTICS.

Grand Rapids, Mich., Nov. 23.—The Manufacturers' Association, composing the proprietors and owners of local furniture factories, is beginning an effort to bring a large number of furniture workers to this city. Advertisements are being scattered throughout the country, giving glowing descriptions of the excellent conditions prevailing, and the nine-hour work day is accentuated and the wages are advertised as being first class. It is stated by men familiar with wages paid in the furniture factories here that they are not first class, and that the purpose of the company is to delude as large a number of workmen as possible in order to get them to come here, with the evident purpose in view of still further lowering the wages. The union carpenters of this city have for many months endeavored to secure better wages and conditions, and have been partially successfull, but not wholly so. One manufacturer in this city entered into an agreement with the union carpenters, and proposes to place the union label on all goods, manufactured. It is reported by the manager of this factory that the goods bearing the union label have had a large sale thus far, with the indications that it will be necessary to enlarge the factory to supply the demand within the near future.

I. A. STEAMFITTERS.

Rochester, Nov. 23.—The Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor went on record in favor of only recognizing one organization in the pipe-fitting trade, and further directed that the executive council should use its influence to secure amalgamation between the United Association of Plumbers and the International Association of Steam Fitters. The efforts to amalgamate the two organizations failed and the per capita tax of the I. A. Steamfitters tended to the A. F. of L. has for some months been refused. The Steamfitters, however, appeared at the convention and demanded recognition. The credentials committee reported to the convention without recommendation. The entire matter was thoroughly discussed. As a result a vote was taken on the seating of the delegates from the I. A. Steamfitters. A roll call was asked for, but there was not a sufficient number to command a roll call, but by a show of hands the Steamfitters were not permitted seats by a vote of 192 against to 21 in favor, thus showing an overwhelming sentiment in favor of supporting the action taken by the Atlanta convention and the executive council in conformity with the instructions of that convention.

STEEL BUSINESS GOOD.

Washington, Nov. 23.—There must be an African somewhere in the commercial woodpile. It has been reported in all the financial papers during the last few months that the iron and steel plants throughout the country were swamped with orders and men extremely scarce, and that the orders now on hand would keep all the mills working to their limit until far into the coming new year. And now comes R. G. Dunn with his review of trade, in which a contradictory note is sounded. It says that labor is now more plentiful, but that the steel mills are not "operating quite up to the high rate maintained in October," yet gives no reason for the lessening of the speed in the operation of these plants. The review goes on to say that "convincing evidence of the remarkable expansion in iron and steel was furnished by the increase of over one million tons in the unfilled orders last month. This was a surprisingly large gain and may be attributed in part to the steady development of new export business."

GROWTH OF PLUMBERS.

Chicago, Nov. 23.—The United Association of Journeymen Plumbers for the fiscal year 1912 organized seventy-two local unions, with an increase of 4,000 members, making a total membership for the organization at the present time of 29,000. During the period mentioned there were sixty strikes, forty-five of which were won, two compromised, and three lost, with ten strikes still pending. Strike benefits amounted to $82,298 and death benefits $14,500. The plumbers now have 585 local unions, with average wages of $5 per day, the vast majority of the local unions working an eight-hour day and a half-holiday on Saturday the year round. During the month of October new local unions were chartered in Milwaukee, Wis.; Swift Current, Saskatchewan, Canada; Cincinnati, Ohio; Fort Dodge, Iowa; Bellville, Ontario, and Hagerstown, Md.

CONTEMPLATE LABOR TEMPLE.

Akron, Ohio, Nov. 22.—A special committee has been appointed by the Central Labor Union to devise ways and means for the building of a labor temple. It is proposed to construct a building, if possible, to cost approximately $100,000, and to issue stock as a means of securing sufficient funds. This action is in line with many other central bodies throughout the country, which are endeavoring to build a home for the exclusive use of organized labor.

THOUSAND MINERS STRIKE.

Cobalt, Ont., Nov. 22.—More than a thousand miners employed in the Porcupine mine have gone on strike against a proposed reduction of 25 cents per day in their wages. The miners employed in numerous other mines in the Porcupine camp threaten to go out also.

COAL MINERS GET BOOST.

London, Nov. 23.—At a meeting of the Board of Conciliation for the federated coal districts, a resolution was passed continuing the Conciliation Board until March 31, 1915, with an advance in wages of 5 per cent. This means that without regards to the gains under the minimum wage act, about 400,000 men, employed in the coal mines of North Wales and England, will receive 25 cents a week increase, the total aggregating about $5,000,000 a year. The agreement provides for a minimum of 50 per cent and a maximum of 65 per cent above the 1888 rate. The advance of 5 per cent is to be paid to all underground workmen and those on the pit banks and screens manipulating coal, and will take effect at once. Although the method of applying advances to contractors is outside the power of the Conciliation Board, on the recommendation of the board the coal owners in the federated area have agreed that the 5 per cent advance shall be applied to them in the same way as to the other workers.

GOVERNMENT JOBS.

Washington, Nov. 23.—Several existing vacancies in the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture are to be filled shortly through a competitive Civil Service examination. An examination will be held December 11 and 12. The entrance salary for these places usually is $1,200, but in some cases is as high as $1,800. An educational training equivalent to that required for a degree of bachelor of science from a reputable college is a prerequisite for consideration. Students about to receive their degree, or who will receive their degrees at the end of the present term, are eligible for the examination. An examination will also be held December 11 to fill the position of dental interne at the Government Hospital for the Insane. This position pays $600 a year and maintenance, including all but personal expenditures. A score or more of other government jobs are to be filled through competitive examination soon, including timber estimator for the Department of Agriculture, December 18; laboratory assistant in ceramics, in the Bureau of Standards, Department of Commerce and Labor, December 11; advanced apprentice engraver in the Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, December 11; statistical editor in the Census Bureau, December 11, and laboratory cataloguer in the National Museum, December 11.

FAVORS CONTRIBUTORY PLAN.

Washington, Nov. 23.—"Bring me a bill embodying a compulsory contributory pension plan for civil service employes which has been worked out by a competent actuary, and which will assure the Federal government the return of any moneys it may advance to finance the plan, and I will do everything in my power to procure its passage by the next Congress." This was a statement made by Speaker Champ Clark in discussing the question of pensioning faithful clerks who have given the best years of their lives in the service of the government, but who would be destitute if compelled to leave the service without provision for their declining years. The problem of pensioning government employes who have become incapacitated, either by illness or old age, has been one that has been calling for solution for a number of years. No doubt some plan will be worked out during the next year whereby a fair and effective superannuation plan can be put into effect which will project the employes of the civil service.

STRIKE CALLED OFF.

Duluth, Minn., Nov. 23.—After one of the most spectacular and effective strikes, which was inaugurated September 3, the street carmen of this city concluded to end the contest after a conflict covering fifty-eight days. The sympathy of the entire public was with the street carmen, together with practically every newspaper. The local union of street carmen, in issuing a statement calling off the strike, says that "winter is approaching; the street railway company needs no bread and we and our families do." While the street carmen have been unsuccessful, without a doubt the contest which has just closed will redound to the benefit of the street carmen in the future. No strike is ever lost, and while the result may temporarily be onerous on a few men, it is likely that conditions will be materially changed by the management of the company, so that future contests of this character may be avoided.

REFERENDUM DEFEATED.

Rochester, Nov. 23.—During the recent convention of the Metal Trades Department resolutions were introduced, the purposes of which were to amend the constitution, making it compulsory to elect the officers of the Metal Trades Department by a referendum vote. When these resolutions came up for consideration they were defeated by practically a unanimous vote, the sentiment among the delegates being to the effect that the referendum plan of election of officers in a federated body like the Metal Trades could not be put into successful operation.

TO AID MINE BUREAU.

Washington, Nov. 23.—The United States Public Health Service has joined the Bureau of Mines in its mission to lessen the dangers of mining. Surg. Gen. Blue has appointed Prof. Reid Hunt as a member of a committee which is being organized by the Bureau of Mines to study improved methods of resuscitating persons overcome by poisonous gases in mines. An investigation will be made in the anthracite and bituminous coal fields of Pennsylvania, commencing about the middle of this month.

CIVIL SERVICE TEST.

Washington, Nov. 23.—To fill a number of vacancies in the first grade clerical positions of the government, the Civil Service Commission will hold an examination of all candidates on February 1 next. All those who pass will be put on the eligible register for possible appointments. This examination is largely for places in the customs and internal revenue divisions of the Treasury Department.

CLAY MINERS ORGANIZED.

Kittanning, Pa., Nov. 22.—The clay miners of this city have just organized a local union, receiving a charter from the American Federation of Labor. The charter list of the new organization comprises a large proportion of those employed in the industry indicated.

RENDERS AN ACCOUNT OF ITS STEWARDSHIP

Executive Council of American Federation of Labor Submits to the Thirty-second Annual Convention at Rochester, N. Y., the Record of Its Activity—Problems Confronting the Organized Labor Movement Dealt with in an Effective Manner—Subjects Cover an Exceedingly Wide Range—Recommendations Seek to Further Fortify the Trade Unions in Their Battle Against Economic Injustice.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., NOV. 12, 1912.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting: One of the duties devolving upon, and which is the privilege of the Executive Council, is the submission at each convention, of a report of the more important matters to which attention has been given during the year. To attempt to touch upon all of the many subjects with which we have dealt since the adjournment of the last annual convention, would make our report too voluminous for your time. Therefore, in coming before you now with this, our report to the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, we shall endeavor to be as brief as the importance of the various subjects contained herein will permit.

The Executive Council has held six meetings since we last met in convention, as follows: November 27, 1911; January 8-13; May 17-22; August 12-21; October 18-23, and November 9-10, the last meeting having been held in this city previous to the opening of this convention.

Our president submitted by mail to the Executive Council during the year 88 documents dealing with various matters, some of the most important of which we shall make part of this report.

In view of the engrossing and immediate work of the convention, not only during its actual sessions, but in committee meetings, the members of the E. C. being required to serve upon committees, as well as to perform their full share of the work on the floor and in the proceedings of the convention, the hope is entertained that, so far as consistent with the necessity, the urgency, or importance of the subjects which you may desire to lay before the Executive Council, that all such matters may be kept until the meeting which we shall undoubtedly hold immediately after the adjournment of this convention.

CHARTERS GRANTED

For the fiscal year of 1911-1912 we issued charters to two national and international unions as follows:

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.

Brotherhood of Railway Express Messengers of America.

We also issued charters to 1 department, 2 State federations of labor, 57 central labor unions, 149 local trade unions of which there are no national or international unions of the trades represented, and where there were an insufficient number of workmen of any one trade to form a local trade union we issued charters to 49 Federal labor unions.

We are proud of the record thus made, the organizations formed, the charters issued, the increase in membership of affiliated unions, but we are also proud to say that some application for charters have been denied. We insist that an organization must be bona fide in character and purpose before it may be afforded the privilege of being recognized as one among the great family of trade unions under the head of our Federation.

Again, other applications are being held pending adjustment of jurisdictional claims with other organizations.

Attention should be here called to the folder issued at headquarters in which is published a chart showing the growth of the Federation since its beginning in 1881. Copies of these can be secured upon request at our Washington headquarters. The chart is also printed in the official proceedings of the Atlanta convention, 1911.

Despite the heavy obstacles our Federation has had to overcome during the year, its growth has not been retarded, but it has steadily advanced as evidenced by the reports already submitted to you by our president, secretary, and treasurer.

EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION

Tailors

Upon the application of the Journeymen Tailors for extension of jurisdiction over cleaners, pressers, and dyers, the application was granted and the local unions of these workers directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. were transferred to the jurisdiction of that organization.

Metal Polishers

We approved the application of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, and Brass Workers' International Union of North America for change in title so as to include silver workers, the title of that organization now reading "Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass, and Silver Workers' Union of North America."

Glove Workers

The application of the International Glove Workers for jurusdiction over cloth glove workers was granted.

Blacksmiths

Your Executive Council also approved the application of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths for jurisdiction over chain makers.

Tile Layers

Upon the application of the Ceramic, Mosaic, and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, the local unions of marble and mosaic workers directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. were transferred to the jurisdiction of that organization.

Hod Carriers

By Resolution No. 129 of the Atlanta convention, the International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Union of America made application for extension of jurisdiction over "common laborers" employed in the construction of streets, sewers, and tunnels. A thorough investigation was made of the matter through correspondence with each local laborers' union and Federal labor union affiliated directly with the A. F. of L. From the information gained through that correspondence we deemed it to the best interests of this particular class of workers that the application should be granted, and that organization is now recognized under the title of "Hod Carriers, Building, and Common Laborers' International Union."

Brewery Workers

The International Union of United Brewery Workmen made application for extension of jurisdiction so as to include Distillery Workers. A conference is to be held during this convention between the representatives of that organization and the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Stationery Firemen and the Coopers' International Union of North America. We hope later, during this convention, to make a report as to the result of this conference.

Carriage Workers

Application of the International Union of Carriage and Wagon Workers for change in title so as to read "International Union of Carriage, Wagon, and Automobile Workers of North America" was granted, it being understood that the jurisdiction of this international union under its newly adopted title should conform to the agreement entered into at the Atlanta convention of the A. F. of L., between the Carriage and Wagon Workers', the Blacksmiths', the Upholsterers', and the Painters' organizations.

We trust that the course we have taken in these matters will be given your indorsement and approval.

BRICKLAYERS AND MASONS

Obeying the instructions given by you at our last convention that the Bricklayers and Masons should again be invited to affiliate with the A. F. of L., we authorized President Gompers and Mr. James Short, president of the Building Trades department of the A. F. of L., to attend the convention of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, then in session at St. Joseph, Mo., and as duly appointed representatives of the A. F. of L., to urge the affiliation of that organization with the Federation. Important matters in connection with our movement having arisen to prevent President Gompers attending the convention, he addressed a letter to the officers and delegates of that convention, which President Short submitted.

President Short was cordially received, read President Gompers' letter and addressed the convention. The matter of affiliation was thereafter ordered to be submitted to a referendum vote, which thus far has not been taken, but we are advised that the matter will be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership in the very near future.

UNAFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Our Federation was organized in 1881. It has ever, without diversion, served the cause of labor. It has demonstrated its right to existence. It has earned the good will and confidence of the people, and particularly the working people of our continent. Its work, its achievements, are known and recognized abroad. Other movements inaugurated in behalf of the toilers have degenerated, have been diverted into improper channels, have been destroyed, but our Federation has stood the acid test of time for the thirty-two years of its life and demonstrated its service to the toilers. It can be made of immeasurably more help by greater unity, extension, and federation.

We have continued our efforts to secure the affiliation of these national bodies of wage earners which have thus far not identified themselves with our Federation. Advances have been made and invitations extended to them to join the A. F. of L. It is the policy of our Federation to pursue a consistent course toward all unions even though they are not affiliated. It respects their jurisdiction and refrains from chartering any union which would intrench upon their territory. In pursuance of this policy, President Gompers on May 17, upon the invitation of its officers, attended and addressed the convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers at Harrisburg, Pa. His address to the convention was published in the July, 1912, issue of the official journal of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Vice President Perham addressed the convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen at Minneapolis, and he, President Gompers, and several other members of the Executive Council addressed several conventions of affiliated internationals, namely: Vice President O'Connell, the convention of the Molders at Milwaukee; President Gompers and Vice President Alpine, the Granite Cutters at Quincy; Secretary Morrison, the Garment Workers at Toronto, and President Gompers and Vice President Alpine, the Carpenters and Joiners at Washington.

We believe that if it were possible to make more frequent addresses to the conventions of international unions, a better understanding of trade unionism and a greater spirit of unity and fraternity would result, much to the advantage of the general labor movement and to the great interests of the toilers in general.

In connection with the subject of the attitude of the international unions unaffiliated to the American Federation of Labor, we are impelled to call attention to the fact that generally members of unaffiliated international work with the members of affiliated internationals, enjoying advantages and receiving protection from comradeship and co-operation. We hold that such advantages and benefits carry with them duties and responsibilities. The members of unaffiliated unions enjoy much of the prestige of our movement or they share in every advantage secured on the economic field, as well as by law enacted through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor. They should share in the performance of the work and in the duties and the responsibilities. The question of moral rights and moral obligations in the labor movement is also involved, for it logically follows that the deprivation of the right to hold aloof and remain apart from the American Federation of Labor involves the very same principle as for a local union to hold aloof from the international union of its craft, and further involves the moral right of a workingman to remain and hold aloof from the union of his trade.

In no civilized country on the face of the globe does any bona fide national trade union hold itself aloof from affiliation with the general labor movement of the country, and the general labor movement of America regards it as an unappreciative and unjustified position when any bona fide eligible international trade union of America remains unaffiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

NEW DEPARTMENTS

There were two resolutions submitted to the Atlanta convention calling for a conference of the representatives of the organizations comprising the wearing apparel industries for the purpose of the formation of a Wearing Apparel Trades Department, and that the Executive Council should take such steps as might be deemed necessary for the formation of a transportation department. Upon correspondence with the various organizations representing the several trades and callings that would naturally be expected to make up the two suggested departments, it was found that a decided majority of them was opposed to the formation of the departments. Therefore, the project was abandoned and nothing further will be done in the matter until the international unions which would be affected can be persuaded to favor their establishment.

However, it should be here stated that on January 22, 1912, the Executive Council issued charter to the Mining Department of the A. F. of L., this department having notified the Atlanta convention of its formation, and having made application for charter.

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

Carpenters

In accordance with the action of the Atlanta convention our best endeavors were exerted to re-establish harmony and have the U. B. again become part of the Building Trades Department. The Building Trades Department at its convention immediately after the close of the A. F. of L. convention agreed with the position taken by our Atlanta convention, and directed its officers to be helpful in having the Brotherhood of Carpenters resume its relations with the department. The officers of the department aided materially in carrying that into effect.

We are pleased to be able to report that the matter having been submitted to a referendum vote of the membership of the U. B., it was acted upon favorably and that organization is again part of the Building Trades Department.

Plasterers

The officers of the Building Trades Department entered protest to your Executive Council against the Plasterers' International Union refusing to affiliate with the department.

The matter was considered and discussed at length and much correspondence ensued in the effort to have the Plasterers' International Union conform to the provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor by reaffiliating with the Building Trades Department.

Former President Donlin finally answered that he would leave the entire matter to the convention of the Plasterers' International Union, which was then about to be held. Up to the time of our October meeting, no information having been received, as to the convention having taken action in the matter, we directed President Gompers to enter into immediate telegraphic communication with the officers of that organization. As a result, the latest advice from President McGivern is to the effect that he will be present in Rochester during this convention, and sincerely expects that arrangements will be made to bring about the reaffiliation of the Plasterers' International Union with the Building Trades Department.

Hod Carriers—Cement Workers

The International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Union appealed to your Executive Council from the decision of the Tampa convention of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., jurisdiction over laborers doing the mixing of concrete having been thereby conceded to the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers. After all parties in interest had been afforded a full opportunity of presenting their respective claims of jurisdiction, our best judgment was that the appeal of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers should be sustained.

U. B. Carpenters—Wood Workers

We are gratified to be able to report that the amalgamation of the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has been effected. The agreement for amalgamation as signed by the representatives of both organizations and indorsed by the Executive Council was published in the February, 1912, issue of the American Federationist.

The referendum vote of the Wood Workers being favorable to the plan of amalgamation, the merging of the two organizations was effected on April 1, 1912.

U. B. Carpenters—Amalgamated Carpenters

Our last annual convention declared that, both for harmony and for practicability, the carpentry trade should be represented in the American Federation of Labor, and also in the Building Trades Department by one general organization of the carpentry industry—the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and instructed the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and requested the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, to carry that declaration into effect. The convention further directed that the president of the A. F. of L. should arrange a conference between the representatives of the two organizations for the purpose of carrying out its declaration and instructions.

The representatives of the two organizations were invited to meet in conference with President Gompers beginning Monday, January 15, at Washington, D. C. The conference lasted nearly the entire week. At the outset a difference arose as to one provision of the action of the Atlanta convention in regard to the conference of these two organizations. President Gompers was called upon for an interpretation of that action. He gave the following:

"A committee consisting of W. D. Huber and James Kirby, representing the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and Herbert Crampton and William Fyfe, representing the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, called upon me for an interpretation of the recommendation of the committee on adjustment and adopted by the convention; the recommendation of the committee printed in the first column on page 321 of the official printed proceedings of the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor, is as follows:

"'Your committee recommends that the president of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to arrange a conference between representatives of the two organizations involved within ninety days from the adjournment of this convention, with a view of arranging a basis of amalgamation of the two organizations, and in case of disagreement upon the terms of amalgamation agreed upon and submitted by the president and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the differences shall be referred to the president and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a final decision, which decision shall be rendered not later than June 1, 1912.

"'Should the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners fail to amalgamate with the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on or before July 1, 1912, the president of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to revoke the charter of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.'

"The difference being as to whether an endeavor should first be made to reach terms of agreement between the representatives of both organizations, or whether the terms of agreement should, in the first instance, be submitted by the president and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

"The gentlemen named requested an interpretation of the committee's recommendation regarding this difference.

"At the outset, I should say that the language employed in the committee's report is, in my judgment, involved, but it is quite evident that the recommendation contemplated a conference between the representatives of the two organizations involved within a specified period 'with a view of arranging a basis of amalgamation of the two organizations.' That statement is clear and unmistakable and is not modified or nullified by any later language of the committee's recommendation. My understanding of the later language of the committee's report is that if there be a failure to agree upon terms of amalgamation by the representatives of both organizations, then the disagreement is to be reported to the president and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, who shall jointly render a final decision not later than June 1, 1912.

"I shall submit this interpretation of the action of the convention to Mr. James O'Connell who was chairman of the committee which submitted this report to the Atlanta Convention, and who, as president of the Metal Trades Department, has offices in this building and who will be available within a short time to review this interpretation.

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,
"President, A. F. of L."

Washington, D. C. January 15, 1912.

The matter being submitted to Vice President O'Connell, who acted as chairman of the adjustment committee of the Atlanta convention, he made the following statement:

"Washington, D. C., January 15, 1912.

"Mr. S. Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"I have read carefully the report you make regarding the conference held between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, and the interpretation you give upon the report made by the committee on adjustment at the A. F. of L. convention, held in Atlanta, November, 1911. As chairman of the adjustment committee, my interpretation of the recommendation made by that committee to the convention, is, as stated by you, namely:

"If the committees of both organizations cannot agree upon a plan of amalgamation, then the differences between the committees or the reasons for failure to agree upon amalgamation are to be submitted to the president and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for final decision, or, in other words, if the two committees fail to agree upon a plan of amalgamation, the subject matter is then submitted to the president and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to decide upon any differences that may exist between the committees or to outline a plan of amalgamation which would be a basis upon which the two organizations should amalgamate.

"Fraternally yours,
"JAS. O'CONNELL."

It will be observed that there is entire agreement in the statements of President Gompers and Chairman O'Connell, of the adjustment committee, as to the purpose which the adjustment committee and the convention had in view in the declaration it made at Atlanta. In that understanding we are in entire accord.

During the conferences of the week of January 15, the representatives of both organizations submitted propositions and counter propositions for the basis of amalgamation, but amalgamation was not effected.

The amalgamation as provided by the instruction of the Atlanta convention was to become effective on or before July 1, the further instructions being that, in the event of the failure of amalgamation by that date, the charter of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners should be revoked.

We directed President Gompers to arrange for another conference, for the purpose of further efforts at amalgamation. The officers of the Amalgamated Society refused to participate in another conference having for its object the endeavor to agree upon terms of amalgamation between the two organization, but insisted that in accordance with the directions of the Atlanta convention the Executive Council render its decision setting forth the conditions upon which amalgamation of the two organizations should take place. It therefore devolved upon your Executive Council to perform the duties imposed upon it by the Atlanta convention of the A. F. of L.; that is, to render a final decision relative to the terms of such amalgamation, we had no alternative. We thereupon made the following declarations and findings, which were submitted to the officers of both organizations, accepted by the U. B. and rejected by the Amalgamated Society:

"Under instructions of the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor, in case of a disagreement upon the terms of amalgamation between the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the president and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are required to render a final decision, to be binding upon both parties as to the terms of such amalgamation.

"For the purpose of having the organizations themselves agree upon the terms upon which the amalgamation should be had, a conference was called of their respective representatives and held at the city of Washington, January 15-19, inclusive, 1912.

"At the outset the representatives of the Amalgamated Society declined to enter into any conference to formulat terms of amalgamation, and it required the rendering of a decision by the president of the A. F. of L. and the chairman of the adjustment committee of the Atlanta convention, which made report upon the subject to the convention, stating definitely and emphatically that a conference must be held prior to any further action on the part of the Executive Council.

"Instead of holding a conference as contemplated by the action of the Atlanta convention, propositions and counter propositions were submitted in writing, resulting in failure to reach any definite plan, since each rejected the proposition of the other.

"The Executive Council, at its meeting in May, 1912, still believing that a conference should be held for the purpose of endeavoring to reach a conclusion upon the terms for amalgamation, invited the representatives of the United Brotherhood and the Amalgamated Society to meet in such conference, and directed that three officers of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. participate in that conference to be helpful in reaching terms of amalgamation.

"The representatives of the United Brotherhood appeared at the time and place for the conference. The representatives of the Amalgamated Society refused to send representatives. Hence the conference was not held.

"The Secretary of the Amalgamated Society in an official communication under date of May 23, 1912, declared that it was the duty of the President and the Executive Council to render a decision without any further joint conferences of the representatives of the two organizations. The Executive Council therefore finds it incumbent upon it to perform the duty which it sought the organizations themselves to determine. Now, therefore:

"The members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, having before them the proposition submitted by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, made to the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners as the terms of amalgamation, the counter proposition made by the Amalgamated Society to the United Brotherhood, and the extended propositions then made by the United Brotherhood to the Amalgamated Society, declare:

"1. That the counter proposition submitted by the Amalgamated Society of terms of amalgamation are based upon the form of organization in all its details of the Amalgamated Society, which are so far reaching as to make it immediately impossible for the United Brotherhood to accept or adopt, and which would indeed make the United Brotherhood, under its own name, the Amalgamated Society.

"2. That the propositions made by the United Brotherhood are fair, just, advantageous, and honorable, and as far-reaching as the United Brotherhood, in its present and immediate future is in a position to make for the amalgamation of the Amalgamated Society with the United Brotherhood.

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor therefore decides that the terms proposed in the first and second propositions of the United Brotherhood for the amalgamation of the Amalgamated Society with the United Brotherhood should form the basis for amalgamation; that unless these terms are accepted by the Amalgamated Society it carries with it revocation of its charter as directed by the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L.

"As part of this decision, the Executive Council directs and decides that in the event of the acceptance by the Amalgamated Society of the terms of amalgamation and amalgamation is effected, that the United Brotherhood shall at its forthcoming convention determine, or refer to its membership for determination, the adoption of the following features as part of the organization:

"(a) Uniform dues throughout the jurisdiction of the United Brotherhood.

"(b) Uniform strike and lockout benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(c) Uniform sick benefits througout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(d) Uniform out-of-work benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(e) Uniform funeral benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(f) Uniform accident or disability benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(g) Uniform superannuation benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(h) Uniform tool benefits throughout the jurisdiction of the U. B.

"(i) A general reserve fund for the guarantee of the payment of benefits.

"(j) Arranging for the exchange and acceptance of traveling cards of all union carpenters of the civilized world who have been members in good standing of such unions twelve months or more prior to the presentation of such cards.

"(k) Equalization of funds.

"A copy of the first and supplementary propositions of the United Brotherhood made to the Amalgamated Society as terms and conditions of amalgamation are in your possession."

Desirous of leaving no effort untried to effect amalgamation we extended the time limit from July 1 to August 1. However, the Amalgamated Society refusing to meet in further conference, or to accept the terms of amalgamation as decided by the Executive Council, there was no alternative left us other than to carry out the instructions given by the Atlanta Convention, and therefore, on August 2, having waited until midnight of August 1 for any further advice from the Amalgamated Society, the charter was revoked and the officers of the Amalgamated Society so notified in a letter which under our instructions President Gompers wrote.

Having before us the decision of the Atlanta and previous conventions, and particularly the instructions of the Minneapolis Convention which read as follows:

"It has been brought to the attention of the Grievance Committee by protests handed to the Committee on Credentials and referred to us, that a number of the Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are violating the laws of that body by seating the representatives of dual and seceding organizations, or those who are antagonistic to the Federation and its affiliated bodies and illegally unseating or refusing to admit delegates, representing National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

"Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to rigidly enforce the laws of the American Federation of Labor, governing the action of Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Any Central Body failing to comply with the laws shall have its charter revoked."

And Section 1 of Article XI, of the Constitution of the A. F. of L. as follows:

"No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next convention."

We authorized the issuance of a circular to all affiliated central and State bodies, directing that the local bodies of organizations coming under the above category should no longer be recognized, or allowed representation therein. A copy of this letter and a copy of the circular issued to all affiliated organizations were published in the September, 1912, issue of the American Federationist, beginning page 744.

In a letter dated July 31, and received at the office of the A. F. of L. during the day of August 1, the day when the time limitation expired, the officers of the Amalgamated Society asked for an extension of time, they knowing that it was a physical impossibility for that request to be conveyed from the headquarters to the members of the Executive Council and a reply thereto received at headquarters on that same day. That request for an extension of time could just as well have been made earlier in July, or even in June, and the request might have been complied with, but in any event, even in all the correspondence and even in the letter in which the request for extension of time was made, it was stated definitely and emphatically that the decision of the Executive Council would not be accepted by the Amalgamated Society, and, therefore, the charter was revoked.

Steam Fitters—Plumbers

The Atlanta Convention declared that both for harmony and practicability the pipe fitting trade should be represented in the A. F. of L., also in the Building Trades Department, by one general association of the pipe fitting industry—the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada, and further, that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed, and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department be requested, to carry that declaration into effect. That Convention further declared that a conference should be held between the representatives of the two organizations at interest, for the purpose of effecting their amalgamation. The conference was duly held on January 6, 1912, when acting upon our authority, the following letter containing the decision of the Executive Council was sent by President Gompers:

"Headquarters American Federation of Labor.
"Washington, D. C., Jan. 12, 1912.

"Mr. Thomas E. Burke, Secretary, United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada, 411-416 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.

"Mr. W. H. Davies, Secretary, International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America, Rood 325 Merrick Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Sirs and Brothers: The Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor directed amalgamation should take place, whereby the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada and the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America shall be formed into one organization under one charter from the American Federation of Labor, namely, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada. The convention directed that a conference of the interested parties should be held for that purpose, at which a representative of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. should be present.

"We herewith notify both organizations in interest that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. received a report from President Gompers of the A. F. of L., and President Short, of the Building Trades Department, that the conference called for had been held January 6, 1912, at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor.

"Representatives of the U. A. and I. A. were present together with President Gompers, of the A. F. of L., representing the Executive Council, and President Short, representing the B. T. D.

"Presidents Gompers and Short reported that though the conference was held, no agreement was reached, due to the fact that the representatives of the I. A. refused to confer with the representatives of the U. A. to determine upon any plan of amalgamation, the representatives of the International Association declaring that, in accordance with the action of the Atlanta Convention, it was for the Executive Council to submit a plan to effect amalgamation.

"In view of these facts, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. herewith submits to the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada, and to the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America, terms of amalgamation as incorporated in this letter.

"Owing to the importance of the subject and the necessity for constructive action in the pipe-fitting industry and for the greater development of the purposes of the Building Trades Department, and its relationship to the general labor movement, both organizations in interest, the U. A. and the I. A. are hereby informed that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor expects a report of the action taken by the respective organizations on the following proposed general terms of amalgamation not later than April 1, 1912. Both organizations are hereby also notified that the interests involved in the pipe-fitting industry, as well as in the Building Trades Department and the labor movement generally, require that in the event of amalgamation, as directed by the Atlanta Convention, not being agreed to by April 1, 1912, that the whole labor movement relies upon the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to announce that there is but one organization of the pipe-fitting industry, recognized by the American Federation of Labor, namely: The United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of United States and Canada.

Amalgamation Agreement

"The following agreement is entered into this —— day of ——, 1912, by and between the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada, and the International Association of Steam, Hot Water, and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America, in compliance with the action of the American Federation of Labor Convention, held at Atlanta, Ga., November, 1911:

"'Section 1. All beneficial members of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water, and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America in good standing at the time this agreement is consummated shall be placed in full beneficial standing on the books of the United Association, as provided for in the general constitution and laws of the United Association governing payment of benefits and donations.

"'Sec. 2. It is agreed that all members of the International Association of Steam, Hot Water, and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers of America thus becoming members of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada shall be entitled to all rights and privileges accorded other members of the United Association.

"'Sec. 3. All apprentices at present in good standing in International Association shall, upon affiliation to the United Association, be credited with full length of time served and shall be entitled to all benefits and privileges of the United Association, as provided for in the constitution of that association.

"'Sec. 4. In cities or districts where two or more locals of the Amalgamated Association are located a joint council shall be formed.

"'Sec. 5. Separate charters shall be granted local unions composed of Steam Fitters or Steam Fitters' Helpers where a sufficient number of applicants for such charter exist, in accordance with the laws of the United Association.

"'Sec. 6. Increased effort shall be made to organize all non-union Steam Fitters and Helpers employed in the pipe-fitting industry.

"'Sec. 7. It is hereby agreed that Steam Fitters shall be entitled to, and shall have, complete control over all steam fitting work, and it is further agreed that in order to promote the success of this amalgamation a committee of six (6), composed of equal numbers representing the parties at interest, shall be created for the purpose of determining the division of the work. This committee shall meet and so determine within fifteen days after the consummation of this agreement.

"'Sec. 8. In case any differences arise relative to carrying out the provision of Sec. 7 that cannot be settled by the representatives of the organizations in interest, then the question in dispute shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for settlement.'

"The above is the decision in the case of the Plumbers and the Steam Fitters, as rendered by the Executive Council at its meeting the week of January 8.

"Both Secretary Morrison and I have been absent on official business since the adjournment of the Executive Council meeting, or the decision would have been more promptly transmitted to you.

"Trusting that I may hear from you in regard to the above at your early convenience, and with best wishes, I remain, Fraternally yours,

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,
"President American Federation of Labor."

To this the following replies were received:

"United Association Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada.
"Chicago, Ill., Jan. 27, 1912.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers' President American Federation of Labor.

"Dear Sir and Brother: I have your esteemed favor of recent date, which is the decision rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its recent meeting, held the week beginning January 8, 1912, which is in relation to the case of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada versus the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters of America.

"In reply, beg to say that I am instructed by the General Executive Board of the United Association to inform you that we unanimously accept the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in all its details in this case; and, further, that we are prepared now and at the date set to carry its provisions into execution, as desired by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

"Trusting that your efforts and the efforts of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will meet with complete success in settling once and for all the long drawn out controversy, assuring you of my best wishes, I beg to remain,

"Fraternally yours,
"THOS. E. BURKE.
"Secretary-Treasurer."

"International Association of Steam, Hot Water, and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers.
"Chicago, Ill., April 3, 1912.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

"Dear Sir and Brother: At the outset I must apologize for the seeming delay in replying to your communication referring to our amalgamation with the Plumbers. Can assure you that same was sent promptly to our Executive Board, which naturally caused much deliberation and delay in getting their replies to me, as no doubt they felt the subject matter was of the utmost importance.

"I beg leave to report that our Executive Board has decided to reject the proposition as submitted. With best wishes, I am, Yours fraternally,

"W. H. DAVIES,
"Secretary-Treasurer International Association."

At our January meeting we decided that, in accordance with the action of the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L., "the officers of the A. F. of L. will, after May 1, 1912, receive per capita tax from only one organization in the pipe fitting industry; namely, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada." In view of the instructions of the Atlanta Convention, and particularly the instructions of the Minneapolis Convention, and Section 1 of Article XI of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., both of which have been quoted in the section of this report dealing with the Amalgamated Carpenters and the U. B. of Carpenters, and, further, in view of the declarations on the part of the Steam Fitters, as indicated in Secretary Davies' letter of April 3, on May 1 we directed the issuance of a circular letter to all affiliated organizations, calling attention to the fact that in conformity with the action of the Atlanta Convention the officers of the A. F. of L. would after May 1, 1912, receive per capita from only one organization in the pipe fitting industry, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers, and calling upon all affiliated organizations in the interests of the workers in the pipe fitting industry, as well as all wage-earners in our country, to aid by every means within their power to carry into effect the decision of the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department.

It should be stated that the Building Trades Department, the Metal Trades Department, and the Railroad Employes' Department, at their several conventions since the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L., have taken such action as to conform to the decision of that convention that there shall be but one organization recognized in the pipe fitting industry, namely, the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers of the United States and Canada.

Sheet Metal Workers—Metal Polishers.

In view of the many existing jurisdictional controversies, it is pleasing to submit to you the agreement as entered into between the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of N. A.:

"August 15, 1912.

"Jurisdiction agreement entered into this date between the Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America.

"It is understood by the parties whose signatures are hereto attached:

"First—That all sheet metal work as registered with the American Federation of Labor, the Building Trades Department, and Metal Trades Department shall be the work of the Sheet Metal Workers.

"Second—The Sheet Metal Workers waive the right to the manufacture of gas and electric fixtures and beer pump supplies, such as are used in the drawing of beer, soda, and mineral waters, to the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers.

"M. O'SULLIVAN
"General President Sheet Metal Workers.
"T. M. DALY,
"General President Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of N. A."

OTHER JURISDICTION QUESTIONS

Glass Bottle Blowers—Flint Glass Workers.

At our meeting in August we received a communication from President Hayes at the thirty-sixth annual convention of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, then in session at Olean, N. Y., that an agreement had been entered into with the American Flint Glass Workers, and that the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association therefore withdrew its protest against the Flint Glass Workers being granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor.

At the same meeting, however, a protest was entered by President Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists, against the charter being issued to the Flint Glass Workers until the question of jurisdiction over mold making should be adjusted. We thereupon directed that at the earliest date possible a conference should be held between the representatives of the three organizations. This conference took place at our Washington headquarters on September 23.

It was decided at the conference that President Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers, and President Rowe, of the Flint Glass Workers, should formulate in writing a request to the International Association of Machinists to withdraw its protest against charter being issued to the Flint Glass Workers. This was done. The Machinists' organization, however, declined to withdraw its protest. Thereupon the officers of the three organizations involved were invited to a conference with us during our October meeting. An entire afternoon session was devoted to the conference, with an endeavor to reach an agreement, but without avail.

At the Minneapolis Convention the Executive Council rendered a decision regarding the application of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union for a charter. That decision was reported to the Norfolk Convention of 1907, found on page 77 of the official printed proceedings of that year, and which the convention approved and made its own:

"Upon the application of the American Flint Glass Workers for a charter, it was decided that charter be issued upon the condition that they refrain from making bottles and fruit jars, which constitute the class of work performed by the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada, now affiliated to the American Federation of Labor."

That decision was ratified at a later convention. This was the clear and emphatic instruction to the Executive Council, and inasmuch as the American Flint Glass Workers' Union complied with the decision of the Executive Council rendered at Minneapolis and indorsed at subsequent A. F. of L. conventions, and the A. F. G. W. U. had entered into an agreement with the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association carrying the decision into effect, the Executive Council had no alternative, and directed that charter be granted, and it was granted.

As will be observed from the report we have thus far submitted to this convention, every effort has been made to carry into effect the spirit, as well as the letter, of the declaration of the Atlanta Convention of one organization for one trade; that duality and rivalry must cease so far as we have the power to enforce it.

Nor were the efforts of the Executive Council directed to that policy and practice because of the Atlanta Convention's declaration. That has been the course pursued by the Executive Council and by our Federation ever since its inception, and particularly since the autonomy declaration of the Scranton Convention. Inasmuch as eleven years elapsed since that declaration, we believe it entirely appropriate to quote it in this report, so that it can be made a part thereof to refresh your minds and the minds of our fellow-workers. It is as follows:

Autonomy Declaration.*

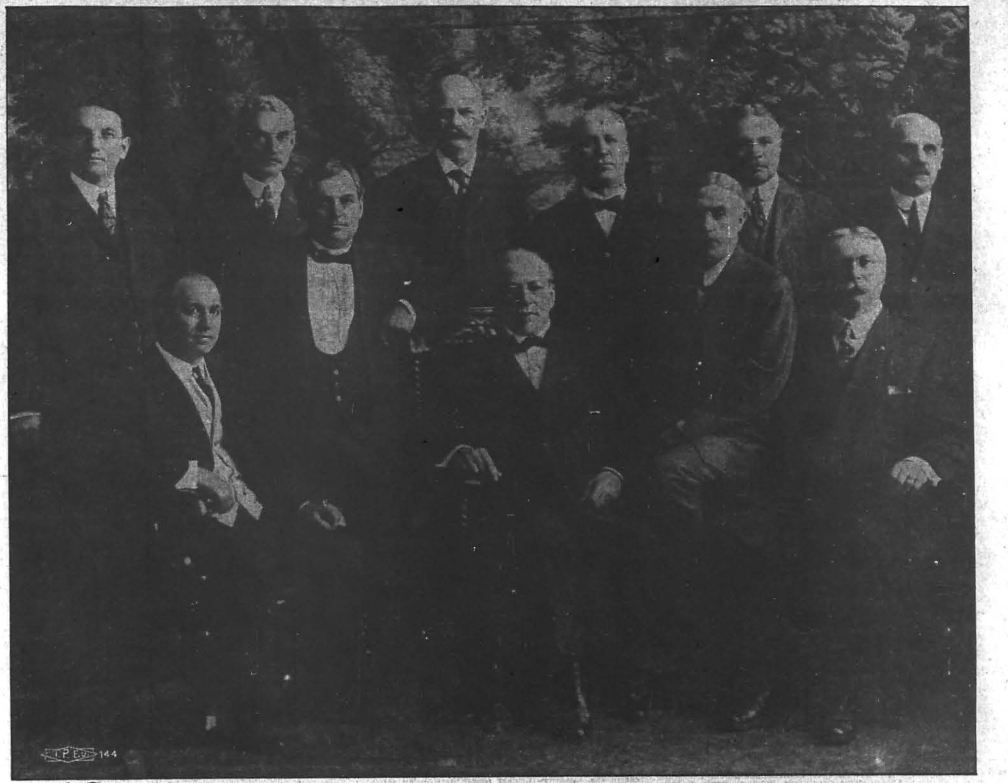
* (The declaration as here given is as corrected by the New Orleans Convention, page 142.)

"Scranton, Pa., Dec. 14, 1901.

"To the Officers and Delegates to the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

"Greeting: The undersigned, your special committee appointed to consider the question of the auton-

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR



Top Row—D. A. Hayes, James O'Connell, William D. Huber, Henry B. Perham, John R. Alpine, Joseph F. Valentine.
Front Row—John Mitchell, Frank Morrison, Samuel Gompers, John B. Lennon, James Duncan.

omy of the trade unions, beg leave to say that it is our judgment the future success, permanency, and safety of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the trade unions themselves, depends upon the recognition and application of the principle of autonomy, consistent with the varying phases and transactions in industry.

"We realize that it is impossible to define the exact line of demarkation where one trade or form of labor ends and another begins, and that no hard and fast rule can be devised by which all our trade unions can be governed or can govern themselves.

"We emphasize the impossibility of the establishment of hard and fast lines, but if history and experience in the labor movement count for aught we urge upon our fellow-workmen that toleration and forbearance which are proverbial of our movement; for without the recognition and application of these qualities any decision we may formulate will be futile. We therefore recommend as follows:

"1. As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor is conceded by all students of economic thought to be the result of organization on trade lines, and believing it neither necessary nor expedient to make any radical departure from this fundamental principle, we declare that, as a general proposition, the interests of the workers will be best conserved by adhering as closely to that doctrine as the recent great changes in methods of production and employment make practicable. However, owing to the isolation of some few industries from thickly populated centers where the overwhelming number follow one branch thereof, and owing to the fact that in some industries comparatively few workers are engaged over whom separate organizations claim jurisdiction, we believe that jurisdiction in such industries by the paramount organization would yield the best results to the workers therein, at least until the development of organization of each branch has reached a stage wherein these may be placed, without material injury to all parties in interest, in affiliation with their national trade unions. Nothing contained in this declaration is intended or shall be construed to mean a reversal of any decision rendered by former Executive Councils or previous conventions on questions of jurisdiction.

"2. We hold that the interests of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allied and subdivided crafts giving consideration to amalgamation, and to the organization of District and National Trade Councils to which should be referred questions in dispute, and which should be adjusted within allied crafts' lines.

"3. The American Federation of Labor being a voluntary association, cannot direct and should not adopt methods antagonistic to or in conflict with established trade union laws, and in order to carry the above recommendations into effect, and in full recognition of its logical position, the American Federation of Labor pledges its officers to aid and assist in the adjustment of such craft encroachments as disputants may be willing to submit to its arbitrament.

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,
"JAMES DUNCAN,
"JOHN MITCHELL,
"JOHN MULHOLLAND,
"C. N. HUGHES,
"Committee."

In connection with this declaration, it is necessary to call attention to a frequent misconception of the term "autonomy" as it is used by the American Federation of Labor. Some have mistakenly interpreted it to mean that a trade union cannot expand its jurisdiction, or amalgamate, with another organization of the same or of a kindred trade in the same industry. The term "autonomy," as applied, has been used as an obstacle to such extension, growth, and amalgamation. No such construction or interpretation can be justly given the term. Broadly and specifically speaking, the term "autonomy" means self-government, as automaton and automatic, self-acting; autobriography, self-writing the history of one's own life; automobile self-propelling; deriving its general application from the root word auto, self. We are prompted to this explanation by several instances in which the term "industrial unionism" is applied, as against trade unionism, with its autonomous self-government, as well as by a circular which was recently issued by the Metal Trades Council of Toledo, in which the affiliated organizations and the delegates to this convention are urged to favor an amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, so that—

"National and International trade unions shall have the right to amalgamation; such amalgamation must be indorsed by a referendum vote of the organizations affected, and a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting upon such amendment in each organization shall be necessary to make the amendment legal and binding."

Such a proposition is based upon the misconception that the American Federation of Labor prevents, or has the power to prevent or place obstacles in the way of amalgamation of national or international trade unions when they so desire to amalgamate, when, as a matter of fact, every effort has been made by the A. F. of L., the Executive Council, and our organizations to bring about amalgamation of national and international unions, and where that has been impossible for the time being, to endeavor to have them co-operate and federate for their mutual advantage.

Attention is also called to the provision of this suggested amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, that if it were adopted it would require a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting to bring about amalgamation, when, as a matter of fact, amalgamation of several organizations has been effected by conference and agreement ratified by a majority of the convention voting upon the question. Thus it will retard and not facilitate.

Years ago we severed the affiliation of the American Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and declared that inasmuch as its members performed the work in several of the machinery trades, the members thereof should belong to the International Association of Machinists. The Allied Metal Mechanics' International Union became part of the International Association of Machinists, and the Machinists Helpers' unions have become part thereof.

The Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union amalgamated with and became a part of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and the American Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters has had its charter revoked because it refused to amalgamate with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

In accordance with the instructions of the Atlanta Convention, efforts were made to have the International Association of Steam and Hot-water Fitters and Helpers amalgamate with the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers. Because of the refusal of the former, we have endeavored to carry the instructions into effect that there should be but one organization recognized in the pipe fitting industry, and that the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers. The United Association has within its membership those branches of the trades included in its title.

The International Molders' Union of North America now encompasses molders of all metals, and some years ago the Core Makers' International Union became amalgamated with it.

The Longshoremen have pilots and steam shovelmen in addition to their own workers, longshoremen.

Blacksmiths have chain makers and helpers.

The Lasters' International Union became amalgamated with the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union.

The Iron and Steel Workers are organizing the unskilled with the skilled of the trade.

The Miners have jurisdiction over all work in and around the mines.

Granite Cutters have added polishers, rubbers, sawyers, and the tool sharpeners have been part thereof from the beginning.

Quarry Workers have added derrickmen, boxing and strapping.

Railroad Telegraphers have added station agents, signalmen, train dispatchers, telepheners, pneumatic interlockers, and staffmen.

The Journeymen Tailors' International Union, the United Garment Workers of N. A., and the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union are endeavoring to bring about an amalgamation of the three organizations, or to bring about a closer co-operative effort.

So on might we quote nearly all of the national and international unions in their constant effort to a more thorough and comprehensive organization of their own fellow-workers in the trade, or in kindred trades.

And yet it is also true that in some few organizations the amalgamation of various branches of one industry having been accomplished, they have voluntarily separated into a number of international unions of their respective branches. That is especially true of the International Typographical Union, which until some years ago had under its jurisdiction and part of the organization the compositors, proofreaders, pressmen, book binders, stereotypers and electrotypers, mailers, news writers, photo-engravers. By agreement, the book binders, stereotypers and electrotypers, and photo-engravers have formed separate organizations from the International Typographical Union, and generally co-operating in their local and national councils.

The American trade union movement is one of constant growth, development, and expansion. Since its inception the American Federation of Labor has been the most practical and beneficial general organization of the wage-workers of the continent; have taken cognizance of the constant change and transition in industry, and by every means within its power has sought not only to effect the organization of unorganized workers, but to bring about unity, solidarity, and fraternity among organized workers, and has stimulated by every means within its power the necessity for closer co-operation, federation, and amalgamation of existing trade unions, to the end that each may be helpful to all.

The American Federation of Labor realizes that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link; that the grand army of organized labor cannot advance much further than its most backward column; that the labor organizations are made up of human beings who are not cast in plastic molds; cannot be placed in rigid forms, and, therefore, it must concede that the authority vested in the affiliated unions and their members must be the largest consistent with the general progress and the welfare of the entire wage-working masses.

The American Federation of Labor has organized central bodies in hundreds of cities, and State federations in nearly all the States in America; has instituted a large number of international unions and numberless local unions, and has developed the system of Industrial Departments which federate the organized workers of the different crafts, trades, and callings, and which co-operate for the common protection and advancement of the interest of all.

The American Federation of Labor realizes that there is still much to do, but repudiates the insinuation which is implied by the term "Industrial Unionism" as it is employed by the so-called "Industrial Workers of the World" in antagonism to "Trade Unionism," for in that implication the false impression is conveyed that the trade unions are rigid, unyielding, or do not adjust themselves to meet new conditions and do not advance, develop, or expand, whereas the whole history of the trade union movement in the past thirty years demonstrates beyond successful contradiction that there is not a day which passes but which witnesses in the trade union movement in America the highest and loftiest spirit of sacrifice in order to co-operate with our fellow-workers for their interest and common uplift.

In line with the historic, intelligent, and comprehensive attitude which the American Federation of Labor has pursued since its inception, we urge still greater effort and energy in the work of more thoroughly organizing the unorganized workers, pursued to its fullest extent; to urge upon the organized workers a more thorough co-operation, to advocate amalgamation of organizations of kindred trades and callings, and a more thorough federation of all organized labor, to the end that economic, political, moral, and social justice shall come to the toilers—the wealth producers of America.

Teamsters—Newspaper and Mail Deliverers

By Resolution No. 40 of the Atlanta Convention—the claim made by the Brotherhood of Teamsters of jurisdiction over a certain class of the members of Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Local No. 9463—it was directed that these members should be transferred from that local to the jurisdiction of the Teamsters' organization.

In conveying to the officers of both organizations the action of the convention, every effort was exerted to reach a mutually satisfactory basis of agreement between them, and yet to carry out the instructions of the convention. Much correspondence passed between both organizations and President Gompers. Local No. 9463 was loath to abide by the Atlanta decision. The Brotherhood of Teamsters insisted that the decision should be enforced. Endeavoring in every way to relieve the situation, and realizing that the revocation of the charter of the Newspaper and Mail Deliveries for failure to abide by the Atlanta decision would not change the situation, and in so far as concerns the organized labor movement of the country that local would not be identified with it, we deferred from month to month revoking the charter, hoping that some way out of the difficulty might be found without having recourse to such drastic measures.

Teamsters—Brewery Workers

The Atlanta Convention directed the President of the A. F. of L. to arrange a conference between the representatives of the Teamsters and the representatives of the Brewers for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about an adjustment of their jurisdictional controversy; that, failing to secure such an adjustment, your Executive Council should render a decision setting forth clearly the jurisdiction of each organization. At several different times during the year President Gompers succeeded in arranging a date that was mutually satisfactory and at a time when a representative of the Executive Council could be present. Upon each occasion, however, some unforeseen matters arose which prevented either one or both of the organizations from participating in the conference.

We urge and recommend further conference during the sessions of this convention.

Teamsters—Bakers.

The conference between the representatives of these two organizations was duly held, as directed by you at our last convention. Secretary Frank Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, representing the American Federation of Labor.

The representatives of the Bakers asked for a modification of the recommendations of Mr. Duffy, and requested that a further conference be held between the representatives of the two organizations.

The second conference was held, and the recommendations and findings of Secretary Duffy were approved and adopted by us.

They are as follows:

"I therefore again recommend that Resolution No. 45 be concurred in by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and that the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. put in force and effect the decision of the Atlanta Convention—that in one craft there must be one organization only.

"I further recommend that after this is done a conference of the representatives of both organizations be held for the purpose of arriving at an agreement governing the relationship of one organization to the other on the matters hereinbefore mentioned."

The officers of both organizations were duly advised of our decision, and were requested to meet in further conference. The officers of the Teamsters declared that as soon as the officers of the Bakers complied with the action of the E. C. the Teamsters would then be ready to meet with them.

Blacksmiths—Tunnel and Subway Employes.

Your Executive Council did not concur in the jurisdictional claims of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths as set forth in Resolution No. 26 of the Atlanta Convention, in connection with which that convention directed that a conference be held between the representatives of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors. As the result of the conference and much correspondence, we are pleased to be able to report that the following agreement was reached:

"New York City, May 2, 1912.

"TERMS OF AGREEMENT made and agreed to by and between Mr. T. J. Curtis, President of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors, and Mr. Richard Brereton, Business Agent of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Locan Union No. 17, as a basis of settlement determining the demarkation lines between both organizations.

"President Curtis, on behalf of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors, agrees to concede the jurisdiction of all blacksmiths except those employed in the sharpening of drills used by his members in their work.

"He further agrees that any member of his organization doing general blacksmith work shall be turned over to Local Union No. 17 of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths.

"He further agrees to render moral support wherever and whenever possible to the representative of Local Union No. 17 of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths in having unorganized blacksmiths affiliate with that organization.

"Business Agent Brereton, representing Local Union No. 17 of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, agrees to accept the above conditions offered by President Curtis as a fair basis of settlement of dispute between both organizations, and agrees to work and co-operate with President Curtis, of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors, in not only promoting harmony between the two organizations, but to render moral support wherever and whenever necessary in assisting and building up the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

"THOS. J. CURTIS,
"President International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors.
"RICHARD BRERETON,
"Business Agent International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Local Union 17.
"HUGH FRAYNE,
"General Organizer American Federation of Labor."

Tailors—Garment Workers.

On October 19, 1902, an agreement was entered into between the representatives of the United Garment Workers of America and the Journeymen Tailors' Union, covering disputed points of jurisdiction. That agreement has been in force since that time.

Some months ago the officers of the Tailors alleged transgression of jurisdiction on the part of the United Garment Workers, and requested that the officers of the A. F. of L. should arrange a conference with the representatives of the United Garment Workers and the Ladies' Garment Workers' International Union for the purpose of devising plans to bring about a better understanding in the best interests of the several organizations and with a view of possible federation or amalgamation. This conference was held on September 30, Secretary Morrison representing the A. F. of L. The conclusion reached was that the amalgamation of the three organizations into one would be to the best interests of the garment working trade; that in order to develop this idea the headquarters of the three organizations should be located in the same city; that there should be selected by each organization three members to meet jointly at least once in three months or as often as either of the organizations might call for a conference for the purpose of developing and working out a practical plan of amalgamation. A further conference will be held during this convention, when the three organizations will be prepared to submit such plans as they believe will assist in finally bringing about amalgamation.

Brick Makers—Steam Engineers.

In conformity with instructions given by you at our last convention, as per Resolution No. 122, a conference of the representatives of the International Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance and the International Union of Steam Engineers was arranged, Vice President Alpine representing the Executive Council. No agreement was reached upon the disputed points of jurisdiction, and it was referred to the Executive Council. We thereupon sustained the Steam Engineers in their contention for jurisdiction over men operating electric machines in brickyards.

Steam Shovelmen's Organizations.

We were authorized by the Atlanta Convention to call a meeting of the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, the representatives of the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen, and such other organizations as are interested in the subject, for the purpose of uniting all organized members of this trade into one organization, in conformity with the laws of the A. F. of L. As authoribed by us, President Gompers arranged for several conferences. They were barren of results. The last conference was called to be held during our August meeting.

The representatives of the several organizations in interest were then given hearings. Immediately after the adjournment of our August meeting another conference was held in Chicago, at which Vice President Mitchell represented the Executive Council. He submitted the following report of that conference:

"Mount Vernon, N. Y., Sept. 9, 1912.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"In pursuance of the action of the August meeting of the Executive Council, I arranged a conference of the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen at Chicago August 30. Those present at the conference were Messrs. Dolan and Carringan, representing the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen; James Hannahan, representing the International Brotherhood of Stationary Engineers; John W. Tracy, representing the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen; Edwin Perry, representing the Mining Department of the A. F. of L., and the undersigned, representing the American Federation of Labor.

"The purpose of the conference being the unification of the organizations having control of steam shovel work, I requested the representatives of the parties at interest to submit proposals for amalgamation. As neither side was prepared to submit any definite proposition which the other would accept, I proposed amalgamation on the following basis: That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor should recommend to the respective organizations of steam shovelmen that during the month of December a committee of ten, five representing each organization, meet in the city of Chicago for the purpose of revising the laws of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen in such manner as could be agreed upon, it being understood that in the revision of the law the right of the steam shovelmen to continue their affiliation with the International Brotherhood of Stationary Engineers and the International Longshoremen's Association, or to make other affiliations of mutual benefit, should not be interfered with; that this recommendation of the Executive Council be transmitted by the American Federation of Labor to the officers of the respective organizations of steam shovelmen and by them be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership of the organizations at interest, in accordance with the provisions of their own laws.

"The above proposal was accepted by all those present at the conference, and the statement was made by Mr. Dolan, representing the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and by Mr. Tracy, representing the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen, that they would recommend to the membership of their respective organizations that the proposal of the Executive Council be adopted.

"On the following day—that is, Saturday, August 31—Mr. Dolan, of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, advised me that he had consulted with the members of his executive board, and that they would not agree to amalgamation on the terms proposed. On that day—August 31—Mr. Dolan wrote me as follows:

" 'Chicago, Ill., Aug. 31, 1912.

" 'Mr. John Mitchell, Kaiserhof Hotel, Chicago, Ill.

" 'Dear Mr. Mitchell:

" 'Since my talk with you yesterday in reference to your proposition affecting our Brotherhood and the dual organization of steam shovelmen, will state that I talked your proposition over with the members of our executive board on the long-distance telephone, and they will only agree to the following proposition, namely, the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen will agree to accept the entire membership of the dual organizations into our Brotherhood with the exception of the men who are now scabbing in the Purington brickyard at Galesburg, Ill. With the exception of these men who are scabbing on 600 brickmakers and 25 of our members who have been on a strike there for the past eighteen months, we will take in their entire membership free of all cost.

" 'Trusting the American Federation of Labor can induce these dual organizations to come into our Brotherhood through the regular channels, according to the principles of the American Federation of Labor, I remain, Yours fraternally,

" 'T. J. DOLAN,
" 'General Secretary-Treasurer.'

"From the foregoing you will perceive that my efforts to unite the organizations of steam shovelmen have failed, and that failure is due to the refusal of the Executive Board of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen to indorse the action of their representatives in the conference herein referred to.

"I shall write to-day to Messrs. Tracy and Perry, informing them of the refusal of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen to proceed further in the movement for amalgamation. I am, Yours truly,

"JOHN MITCHELL,
"Second Vice President A. F. of L."

The basis of amalgamation as proposed by Mr. Mitchell was accepted by all of those present at the conference, and the representatives of the Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and of the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen stated that they would recommend to their respective organizations that the proposal of the Executive Council, as represented by Vice President Mitchell, be adopted. The Executive Board of the International Brotherhood declined to accept. Believing that the necessity for unity warrants us in urging that another conference be held by the representatives of the organizations in interest, they have, therefore, been invited to send representatives to hold a conference in this city during the time of this convention. We hope to make a report to you later as to the result of such conference.

Electrical Workers.

The long standing controversy in the courts between the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the seceding section of that organization was decided by Judge Phillips in the Court of Common Pleas of Cleveland, Ohio, on March 21, 1912, in favor of the Brotherhood affiliated to the A. F. of L. The Executive Board of the Brotherhood immediately thereafter held a meeting and adopted the following as the basis upon which the local unions of the seceding faction of the electrical workers would be admitted to membership in the Brotherhood:

"1. In the event of the members of Local Union No. —— again joining forces with our Brotherhood, they will be placed immediately in benefit to the amount of $100 in case of death.

"2. All members of Local Union No. —— that have been in good standing for five consecutive years in either organization or in both will be entitled to transfer their membership into any other local union of the same branch of our trade without examination or difference in initiation fee.

"3. All members of Local No. —— who have been less than five years in continous good standing will be given credit for the full length of their good standing.

"4. All members of Local Union No. 38 to be placed in good standing on our books on payment of current per capita tax."

A number of local unions immediately accepted the proposition, and from time to time additional unions came into the Brotherhood, until at the time of making this report it has been reported to us that sixty-five local unions of the seceding faction of Electrical Workers have united with the International Brotherhood, with an increase in membership of 4,038.

Jurisdiction Unsettled.

We have given much thought and discussion to, and there has been much correspondence upon, the matter of jurisdiction over newsboys, news carriers, and newspaper solicitors and printer roller makers. Your Executive Council expressed the belief and opinion that the International Typographical Union has original jurisdiction over news writers. A conference is to be held during this convention between the representatives of the printing trades, when it is hoped that a mutually satisfactory agreement may be reached regarding the matter of jurisdiction over the trades mentioned. We hope to be able later during the convention to make a report to you in regard to this matter.

AUTHORITY AND SELF-IMPOSED DISCIPLINE

In connection with the general subject matter of the electrical workers and questions of a kindred character, attention should be called to the fact that in conformity with the laws of the A. F. of L. and the actions and declarations of its conventions, the charter of the Alameda County Central Labor Council, California, was revoked because that body refused to abide by the decision and the laws of the A. F. of L. in the electrical workers' matter.

Information has come to us that a committee of three representing the Alameda County C. L. U. has visited several places in California, soliciting support in their refusal to abide by the laws and decisions of the A. F. of L. and for the organization of a dual and rival body to the A. F. of L. on the Pacific Coast.

Your attention is called to this particular case for several reasons, only a few of which need here be stated. Somewhere in the labor movement of America there must be lodged some degree of authority or expression of judgment. To this authority interested parties should defer for investigation, discussion, final judgment and ultimate determination all disputed matters affecting the internal relations of the organized labor movement coming properly before the American Federation of Labor.

This authority to adjudge as to which disputant is held to be right and which to be wrong, should endeavor, with all the influence which can be brought to bear through our movement, to adjust such disputes, conflicts, and claims so that the unity and solidarity of the labor movement may be maintained.

If this position be right, the question arises as to where that authority shall be vested. If the American Federation of Labor, in its conventions, or between conventions, the Executive Council, is not the constituted authority, where, pray, shall such authority be lodged? In any one central body? If that be justified, then why not a single local union? And if that be proper, then each individual member of a union may be constituted a law unto himself. Then, how can any general policy or purpose be outlined or a coherent, practical course be pursued in the interests of the general welfare of the toilers of our continent?

The laws, the policies, and the decision of the A. F. of L. are based upon the combined judgment of the toilers of America. There is no power lodged anywhere in our movement by which the laws, policies, and decisions thereof can be made effective, unless it be the general consensus of opinion and judgment of the organized wage-earners and the respect and confidence which they have in the movement and the men they have chosen to represent them. It depends for success upon the devotion of the rank and file of organized labor to the cause of unionism for furtherance of their own interests and the common welfare.

In the absence of any power to enforce laws, policies, and decisions (and our movement aims at the avoidance of such force and powers), there must come to our fellow-workers the understanding that some degree of discipline must be maintained, but that only through discipline which is self-imposed and maintained for the progressive and orderly conduct of the labor movement of our time can the integrity and entity of our movement be safeguarded; so that it may be of the greatest value and influence in securing for the toiling masses of our country the opportunity and the means for the attainment of the highest and best possible conditions.

Because of the action of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County and other instances of a similar character, we believe that this convention should express itself in no unmistakable terms as to the moral duty and obligation of every affiliated body loyalty to give effect to decisions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor—the highest authority in the organized labor movement of America.

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

During the year many applications were made for financial assistance by directly affiliated local trade unions and federal labor unions where their members were involved in strikes or lockouts. Whenever the unions were entitled to such assistance under the Federation constitution, your Executive Council gave speedy and effective aid, and in some cases where assistance was urged we supported the strike or lockout even though there were no actual obligations resting upon the Federation. It has been our desire and endeavor to deal as generously in such cases as is permissible under the constitution, but yet we wish to take this opportunity of impressing upon the local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated the necessity for complying with the requirements of the constitution in giving notice where there is a likelihood of a strike or lockout being inaugurated.

It is not necessary that we should repeat in this report the data given in the Secretary's report of the number of unions involved in strikes and lockouts during the year, the amount of benefits paid, but we do desire to call particular attention to the strike of the button workers at Muscatine, Iowa, and the strike of the railway employes on the Harriman and Illinois Central Railroad lines. In the case of the former the contest lasted considerably over a year. Although the button workers were almost wholly unorganized at the beginning, yet the strike ended without rancor or bitter feeling, with considerable enthusiasm for the union and without one dollar indebtedness. Benefits were paid to the members of the organization to the amount of $21,718, and during the entire contest one or more representatives of the Federation were constantly on the ground, assisting, encouraging, and helping in every possible way. President Gompers, by our direction, finally visited Muscatine on May 22, it being upon his advice and with his counsel that the strike came to an honorable end. Since that time the Button Workers' Union of Muscatine has been conducting an aggressive campaign for the organization of the workers of that trade, not only in that vicinity, but in various other localities where the industry is established. Through the help of our Federation organizers, assistance has been given whenever and wherever possible.

In the case of the railway strikes there were benefits paid for forty-eight weeks to nine unions, varying in members from 344 to 99. The men made a noble fight. When it finally became necessary to notify the various organizations that after a certain date no further benefits could be allowed, one local after another wrote to headquarters expressing its deep appreciation for the generous financial and moral assistance given by our Federation.

There were several directly affiliated trade unions and federal labor unions whose members have been on strike and to whom benefits have been paid from the defense fund, but better than all the financial assistance rendered in these several controversies has been the fact that many improvements in wages, hours, and conditions of labor have been secured by reason of the affiliation of these local unions to the A. F. of L., the practical suggestions and advice given them by our Federation officers and organizers, and the defense fund, which, if necessary, was at their back.

Nor should we omit to make reference here to the many instances in which strikes have been averted and agreements reached through the efforts and with the assistance of the Federation organizers, the organizations' representatives, and officers of the national and international unions, by conferences with employers and their representatives. It is the endeavor of the officers of the A. F. of L. and of its affiliated organizations to leave no honorable effort untried to prevent strikes consistent with the rights and promotive of the interests of the workers.

We believe that the intelligent public is beginning to realize that a well-organized, orderly labor movement, as represented by the American Federation of Labor is the most effective safeguard against unnecessary strikes and industrial disturbances.

ORGANIZERS

A number of resolutions were introduced at our last convention requesting the appointment of special organizers for many of the different trades and callings, or requesting assistance in special organization work. Many requests of a similar character have been made during the course of the year. In all instances we authorized the President of the A. F. of L. to comply as fully as warranted by the funds of the Federation available for that work.

In Secretary Morrison's report to this convention the statistics are given of the number of unions organized and chartered during the year, both direct by the A. F. of L., as well as by the affiliated national and international unions. There must be taken into consideration, however, the fact that not all of the affiliated national and international unions have been able to make accurate reports along these lines. It must be further borne in mind that these statistics are but a partial demonstration of the work of the organizers, both of international unions and the American Federation of Labor. It is often the case that an organizer is required to devote days of his time to a particular locality, performing most excellent work in the interest of a special trade, as well as of the movement in general, and yet not be able to report the organization of a new union. Such work as this is not susceptible of statistical tabulation. It is, however, of none the less value to the progress, strengthening and building up of the movement in general.

There are now working directly for the American Federation of Labor organizers who speak English, German, Bohemian, Polish, Slavish, Lithuanian, Russian, Latium, and Yiddish.

It should also be stated that for the purpose of assisting in the organization work of the Women's Trade Union League we authorized the payment of $150 per month for one year.

In many of the international unions a considerable number of the members speak foreign language. These organizations also have special organizers for the trade who speak various languages. They publish their constitutions and by-laws in foreign languages, as well as organizing literature and their various journals in part.

We recommend to our national and international unions, and to all organized labor, that a greater effort than ever before be made during the coming year to organize the yet unorganized workers in every trade and calling, and thus have them identified with, and become part of the great organized labor movement of America.

We further recommend the continuation of the special organization work of the A. F. of L. as far as warranted by the state of the Federation funds.

ORGANIZERS' SALARIES

The Atlanta Convention considered a resolution for the amendment of section, 7 Article XI of the constitution, relating to the salaries of organizers, the proposed amendments being to:

"Strike out the figures $5 per day and insert the figures $6 per day on line 4."

The matter was referred to the Executive Council with power to act. Owing to the fact that the funds were not then available to meet the proposed added expenditure which would thereby be entailed, we finally decided in favor of the proposition, the amendment to go into effect January 1, 1913. When considering this amendment, it was also decided that where organizers for any specific trade are employed by the A. F. of L. to perform special trade organizing work, that such organizers shall receive the stipulated salary as provided by the national or international union in whose interest the work is being performed, provided, however, that such salary does not exceed $6 per day.

CONTEMPT CASE

In the report which was submitted to the Atlanta Convention, attention was called to the fact that a "committee," consisting of the attorneys in the original injunction and contempt case against us, had been appointed by Justice Wright to investigate and report whether or not there was good reason to "believe Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison guilty of contempt of court," and that this committee brought charges against our colleagues and reported them to the court. The committee recommended that it might be that Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison had believed that "the injunction was not binding" upon them because of what they claimed to be their "constitutional right of free speech and free press;" that it might be that, now that their contention had "not been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States" they might be prepared to make such "due acknowledgment, apology, and assurance of future submission" to the court; that should such acknowledgment, apology, and submission not be forth coming after due notice and opportunity, the course necessary to be pursued to maintain its dignity and due respect for and obedience to the law, was submitted to the court for its consideration. No such apologies or acknowledgments were made, and in pursuance of these charges the retrial of the case began before Justice Wright, December 30, 1911.

While the three defendants were the parties on trial for contempt of court in the alleged violation of the terms of the injunction, there were more than personal interests, personal freedom, personal equations involved. Time and again the American Federation of Labor had declared, as we trust it will repeat and emphasize, for the untrammeled freedom of the press and freedom of speech, that when an opportunity should be presented a test case should be made before the courts. Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison were making that test. Regardless of consequences, they believed that they had not the right, and neither had they the inclination, to stultify our movement and degrade their consciences in making an apology for the lawful course they had pursued in having our rights determined before the courts, or to make acknowledgment that they were unjustified in the course they pursued in welcoming the making of a test. The case had been brought against the Federation. We could not abstain from a defense, and it afforded the best method to utilize it as a test case.

The taking of testimony lasted 25 days, during all of which time there was not a scintilla of evidence adduced which in any way reflected dishonorably upon our movement or our men. It clearly emphasized the fact of our determination to uphold, at whatever peril, the right of free speech and free press. Perhaps it may not be amiss to call attention to the fact that the editorial printed in the March, 1908, issue of the American Federationist, reviewing the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Hatters' Case, was taken as a text for a speech in the House of Representatives by Hon. William Sulzer, of New York, and was made part of that speech. Because he incorporated therein a reference to the company which brought on the original injunction, that, too, was used as evidence against "Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison." Congressman Sulzer was called as a witness and took the stand and declared that he made that speech and made the editorial a part of it on his own volition, with the purpose of giving the subject the widest publicity in the interests of the people. His testimony closed the case.

Then began the argument, Mr. Darlington arguing for the prosecution against Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison, and Mr. Wilson against Mr. Mitchell, Judge Alton B. Parker and J. H. Ralston arguing for the defendants, the closing argument being made by Committeeman Davenport on Friday, March 15. The arguments on both sides lasted in all five days, when the court took the case under advisement.

Our attorneys made magnificent arguments in presenting our case, taking up each specific bit of evidence and argument presented by the prosecution and utterly demolishing them. They indicated the struggle on the part of our ancestors to secure the great principles of liberty now embodied in the constitutions of our Federal government and our State governments, and how organized labor, finding that the courts were infringing upon their constitutional and statutory rights by usurpation and through the abuse of the injunction power, had determined to carry some test case to the court of ultimate authority in order to get a ruling. The legal principle involved in the case is whether or not an order is void when issued by a department of the government in excess of its authority. The injunction issued against the defendants in this case was declared by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals to be in excess of the court's power to issue. The injunction, as issued, gave the court censorship over the press. Our counsel argued that the constitutional provisions were to prevent all previous restraints to publication.

The argument of the case was completed March 15, and more than three months later—that is, on June 24—Justice Wright delivered his decision. As was expected, he confirmed his previous opinion. He declared Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison guilty of contempt of court, and sentenced them to imprisonment for twelve, nine, and six months, respectively. The decision aroused considerable comment, because it was felt that Justice Wright had allowed personal opinions and feelings to determine his course. Besides unfavorable comments by individuals and the press, the Democrats of Nebraska, in their State convention, incorporated into their State platform the following paragraph:

"We denounce the usurpation of power on the part of the Federal judiciary as shown by the decision of Judge Daniel Thew Wright, of the District of Columbia, wherein he sentenced to imprisonment such champions of the wage-earners of the nation as Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell for daring to exercise the prerogatives of free speech. We call upon Nebraska's Representatives in Congress to investigate the record of this procedure, with a view to the judge's impeachment."

In accordance with these instructions, the Democratic members of the Nebraska delegation conducted an investigation, which, we are advised, will be shortly resumed.

Mr. Francis T. Tobin, a lawyer from Philadelphia, Pa., advised us that he had sent to the Speaker of the House, Hon. Champ Clark, a petition for impeachment proceedings against Justice Wright. The petition asked that impeachment proceedings be instituted, and that he be removed from office. Speaker Clark was requested to present the petition to the House of Representatives for action.

Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison have furnished bail in the sums of $5,000, $4,000, and $3,000, respectively, for their appearance. An appeal from Justice Wright's decision and sentence has been taken to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia.

In connection with this case there are a few instances of an interesting character, and which we feel in duty bound to report. One is already known to you; the other was communicated to the Executive Council (outside of the defendants themselves) only at our October meeting. The first is that our colleagues have stood firmly and unequivocally in defense of the right of free speech and free press. In that they have the almost universal approval and indorsement of the American people, as well as of all men of other countries with whom we have had any contact or correspondence, and of the press of foreign countries which has come to our notice.

The stand of the American labor movement, the position of our three colleagues, is the stand which right-thinking, liberty-loving men in all countries and in all climes have taken for centuries. It was wrung from an unwilling monarch of Great Britain hundreds of years ago and writ in Magna Charta. It was given a new meaning in the Declaration of Independence, in the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and in the constitutions of every one of the States of our Union. It is a stand from which the American labor movement must not, and cannot, recede. It is a stand which must ultimately be recognized and established for every citizen of our country and our time, regardless of who, in the meantime, must suffer in the struggle for its attainment. There is one fact which stands out clearly—that is that our colleagues, Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison, even though they may have to suffer imprisonment in this case, will bear no obloquy, but it will be to their honor and their credit in having made the stand for the rights of man.

In addition, the circumstance was most unfortunate that the original appeal on the injunction itself, and which primarily involved the principle for which we were contending—that is, free speech and free press—became a moot case, because, in the logical work in connection with our movement, we could not refrain from entering into an agreement with the company which had obtained the injunction. Therefore, the appeal on the injunction was dismissed, and nothing but the appeal upon the contempt case was before the Supreme Court. In connection with this fact we desire to lay a second matter before you, and which, as we have already said, was so recently communicated to us.

When the agreement with the company was reached our attorneys realized that in all likelihood the case would be regarded as moot, and therefore an amended agreement was reached the month following the original, in the hope that the status of the case might be saved before the court. However, that, too, proved futile. Realizing this state of affairs, a conference was held in Judge Parker's office, at which he, Mr. Ralston, and Mr. Mulholland, our attorneys, were present, and in which President Gompers was invited to participate. The case in its position then was gone over. It was the opinion of the three attorneys that a statement should be made to the United States Supreme Court of the situation as it existed and the court requested to take the view that inasmuch as the appeals on the injunction had become a moot case that the court would dismiss the entire proceedings, including the sentence in the contempt case; that is, that the court should dismiss the entire proceedings, leaving the matter as it finds it. Against that proceeding President Gompers protested, insisting that, for the mere sake of saving himself, it would have every appearance of surrendering the principles for which he and his co-defendants and all of us were contending. Feeling, however, that he could not speak for his associates, he requested the attorneys to place their proposition in writing, which he would submit to Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Morrison. That letter was received, conference of the three men was held, and an answer made. The following is the letter of the attorneys:

"Washington, D. C., Dec. 21, 1910.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President.
"Mr. John Mitchell, First Vice President.
"Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary, Washington, D. C.

"Gentlemen: At the conference of July 19, 1910, held in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, at which the Buck's Stove and Range Company was represented by Mr. William H. Cribben and Mr. Thomas J. Hogan, and the American Federation of Labor and other affiliated organizations interested in the controversy with the Buck's Stove and Range Company were represented by Mr. Samuel Gompers, and others, an agreement was entered into with the purpose and intent of ending the entire trouble existing between the parties to the conference. This purpose went not only to the termination of the questions between the parties as to the terms of employment within the plant of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, but also to those matters that have arisen in the courts as between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and the parties, or some of the parties, to the conference.

"Paragraph four of the agreement entered into on July 19, 1910, provided as follows:

> "'That the Buck's Stove and Range Company, through its representatives, Messrs. Cribben and Hogan, agrees that it will withdraw its attorneys from any case pending in the courts which have grown out of the dispute between the American Federation of Labor and any of its affiliated organizations, on the one hand, and the Buck's Stove and Range Company, on the other; and that said company will not bring any proceedings in the court against any individual or organizations growing out of any past controversies between said company and organized labor.'

"Subsequently, to wit, on the 7th day of September, 1910, a conference was held at the Southern Hotel, in the city of St. Louis, Mo., to consider the questions presented under paragraph four, above quoted. This meeting was attended by Mr. Gardner, a majority stockholder and chairman of the board of directors of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, with Messrs. Lee and Lehman, his attorneys, and by Mr. Samuel Gompers, with Mr. Jackson H. Ralston and Mr. Frank L. Mulholland, his attorneys.

"It is well for you to understand that this conference was arranged because of the suggestion of the fact that paragraph four, above quoted, would, and in and of itself did, terminate all litigation as between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and yourselves and others in the American Federation of Labor. This result was contrary to the wish of Mr. Gompers, who desired that the litigation in reference to the so-called injunction case and the so-called contempt cases be prosecuted to a final decision upon the questions involved by the Supreme Court of the United States.

"With this end in view, and as a result of the St. Louis conference, an 'amended or supplemental memorandum of agreement' was prepared and executed by and between the parties to the original or Cincinnati agreement.

"In the 'amendment or substituted memorandum,' paragraph four was changed so as to read as follows:

> "'4. The Buck's Stove and Range Company will not bring any proceedings in the courts against any individual or organization growing out of any past controversy between said Company and organized labor.'

"(It was the understanding that notwithstanding the second agreement, original paragraph four should still remain in force.)

"This, you understand, was an effort on the part of the conferees, and at the earnest request of Mr. Gompers, to leave the matters of the cases then pending—that is—the injunction and contempt cases—open for prosecution before and consideration by the Supreme Court of the United States.

"Wide publicity was, however, given to the purpose, language, and effect of the Cincinnati agreement. It was published in toto in the public press throughout the country and gave the fullest possible public notice that all matters in controversy between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and organized labor were fully and satisfactorily adjusted.

"We are now upon the eve of the time set for the presentation of these cases to the Supreme Court, they being upon the assignment of that court for January 18, 1911. We cannot believe but that the judges of this court are conversant with the terms of the Cincinnati agreement. They, together with the public generally, must know that there is to-day no issue between the parties to this litigation. You desire this tribunal to nevertheless consider the cases, and pass upon the questions involved, in order that there will be an adjudication of these questions by the supreme authority. If the case ostensibly proceeds, we will go into the court upon a 'moot case'—not to settle a real controversy between the parties of record—but to settle a mooted question of law.

"In our opinion, the court being conversant with the entire situation, or having some information and gaining a thorough understanding by catechising counsel, will decline to sit as a 'Moot Court' to pass upon matters not actually in controversy.

"This situation would then dispose of the appeals of both complainant and defendants in so far as the case relates to the injunction originally issued by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia and the injunction as modified by the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

"In this event, the only matter left for the consideration of the court is the contempt case—the only issue, whether or not three men go to prison. The Buck's Stove and Range Company says it has no such purpose or interest. The Buck's Stove and Range Company wishes to be relieved of counsel who anticipate prosecuting this case to that end. You gentlemen directly involved certainly have no desire to go to a jail, except in the necessary vindication of a principle dear to you, and the situation is such that this is not obtainable. There is, then, a mutual interest rather than a controversy upon this question, and if the Supreme Court decides that all matters of difference between the parties have been fully and satisfactorily settled, they may decide to leave all parties where they were found.

"If the Supreme Court refuse to consider the so-called injunction case, we can see nothing left to fight over. There is no issue worthy of the risk incident to the pressing of the contempt case.

"The original injunction has been greatly modified and a learned judge of the Court of Appeals has rendered a dissenting opinion that contains much of comfort. You, although charged with contempt, are under sentence, but not imprisoned. Regardless of the adverse decision of the court below, you have won your contest with the Buck's Stove and Range Company. They recognize the rights of your organization and the members thereof and propose to deal justly with all. In so far as public information goes and in a very practical way, you are the victors at every point put in issue in the progress of this controversy.

"We now ask what would be the effect upon the public mind and upon the individual member of organized labor, uninformed as to the details of the questions involved, if the Supreme Court, refusing to pass upon the fundamental questions involved in this litigation, should nevertheless say that a restraining order when issued out of a court must be obeyed until such time as another and higher tribunal has passed upon the question of whether it was rightfully or wrongfully issued. Do not understand that we admit the correctness of this view for a moment. We are yet of the opinion that when a court of equity exceeds its jurisdiction to issue an injunction restraining a citizen from the exercise of his fundamental, constitutional rights, that citizen is not bound to obey the injunction. It appears to us that if you go to prison the labor movement will lose the benefit and support that is come from the victory so far gained, while the public, viewing only the fact of your imprisonment, forgetting all else, will consider you blameworthy.

"If we proceed with these cases in the Supreme Court we do so with a belief that amounts almost to a certainty that the court will refuse to hear us upon the issues raised in the injunction case. The attorneys for the Anti-Boycott Associaton might then under the guise of friends of the court proceed with the prosecution of the contempt cases. If, however, Messrs. Davenport and Darlington are withdrawn from these cases and the information be presented to the court, in open court, of the friendly relations now existing between the parties to the litigation, and new counsel for the Buck's Stove and Range Company decline to further prosecute the charges in contempt, requesting reversal of the findings and sentence of the court below, we believe this litigation would come to a happy end.

"With the Buck's Stove and Range Company out of the prosecution, there will be no interested party prosecuting the matter of contempt. The court might ask the legal department of the government to take up this prosecution, but we cannot believe that the court will deem it its duty to take up the battle when the parties directly interested desire to end the controversy.

"On Wednesday, December 14, the undersigned had a conference with Mr. Gompers in the office of Judge Parker in New York City, and after full consideration and against the protestations of Mr. Gompers, decided that we would recommend to you that the Buck's Stove and Range company be asked to carry out the terms of paragraph four of the agreement of July 19, 1910, adopted at Cincinnati, and withdraw its attorneys, Messrs. Davenport and Darlington, from the cases now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States, substituting others in accord with its present policy toward labor.

"Respectfully submitted,
"JACKSON H. RALSTON,
"ALTON B. PARKER,
"FRANK L. MULHOLLAND."

To the foregoing the following reply was made:

"Headquarters American Federation of Labor,
"Washington, D. C., Dec. 28, 1910.

"Hon. Alton B. Parker.
"Hon. Jackson H. Ralston.
"Hon Frank L. Mulholland.

"Gentlemen: Your joint letter, addressed to the undersigned, under date of December 21, came duly to hand, and at a conference in this city last evening we took it under advisement. Inasmuch as two of us (Messrs. Mitchell and Morrison) were unable to participate in the conference with you in New York, we invited Mr. Ralston to give us the benefit of his legal advice in the matters presented in your letter. Later, we determined upon the course we should pursue in the premises, and to communicate with you through the medium of this letter.

"At the outset we should say that our understanding of Section 4 of the agreement entered into with the representatives of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, Mr. Gompers, and others, at Cincinnati, July 19, was in good faith changed by the supplemental agreement at St. Louis, September 7; that there was no understanding that the original paragraph No. 4 should still remain in force. All parties to the amended supplementary agreement believed that they were conserving their mutual interests and the interests they respectively represented, as well as in the appeal cases before the United States Supreme Court.

"We beg to assure that we greatly appreciate the advice which you give and the suggestion you make, and thereby see clearly the possibility, aye, even the probability, of escaping the enforcement of the sentences imposed upon us by Justice Wright. We do not underestimate in the slightest degree the fact that as men of honor and in view of the duty you owe to the court, you cannot withhold from the court that information which is the court's due, or in any way attempt to deceive. We feel convinced, however, that in view of the duty we owe to our fellow-workers and to our fellow-citizens, as well as to our own self-respect, we cannot see our way clear to follow the course you have suggested for us to pursue.

"It is quite true that the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia has modified the injunction issued by Judge Gould and made permanent by Judge Clabaugh of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. We feel considerable satisfaction in the dissenting opinion of Chief Justice Shepard, but it is equally true that we are wholly unsatisfied with the injunction as modified by the Court of Appeals. It still denies to us and to our fellow-workers the rights to which they and we are constitutionally and inherently entitled, and we cannot even seemingly give our assent to the provisions of the injunction as modified by the court.

"For many years large numbers of the people of our country have protested against the abuse of the injunctive power of the courts. The men and women of labor have been the greatest sufferers and victims of this abuse. They have not only protested, but have sought relief at the hands of the higher courts, of the State Legislatures, and of the Federal Congress. For several years labor has sought the opportunity to make a test of the principles involved before the courts wherein the constitutional and inherent rights would be raised and met. Such a case presented itself when the Buck's Stove and Range Company under its old management obtained the injunction against the American Federation of Labor, its officers and affiliated organizations and their members. With great earnestness and unanimity it was decided that a case, not of our own seeking, but nevertheless a case, had been found wherein these principles could be tested, and with a clear understanding of what the possible consequences might be, it was determined that the test should be made.

"It is not necessary here to recount the varying stages of procedure of the injunction, the appeal, the ruling to show cause why we should not be punished for contempt, the brutal and prejudiced opinion delivered by Justice Wright, and the unprecedented severity of the sentences imposed. They are all matters of history with which you are entirely familiar. When labor decided that the appeal should be made to the United States Supreme Court, you advised that that course was not only consistent and profitable, but you expressed your confidence that that high tribunal would sustain our contention. That court granted the writ of certiorari in which the injunction and contempt cases should be combined and heard as one appeal. The case was set for the October, 1910, term, and later deferred to January 18, 1911, so that the appeals might be heard before a full bench.

"Going back a little, we were always aware that if the present management of the Buck's Stove and Range Company ever got into control of the company's affairs, the company's policy would be changed toward organized labor. Upon the demise of the late Mr. James W. Van Cleave, who was the company's president, Mr. Frederic W. Gardner came into control and direction of the company's affairs. Negotiations were begun, and an adjustment of the dispute and an agreement between the company and organized labor was reached. New and friendly relations between the company and organized labor were thereupon established. As a result of that agreement it appears that the standing of our case before the court has been impaired. Yet as a matter of fact we could not, we dared not, continue a contest with an employer who is desirous of living in friendly relations with organized labor. Being unfamiliar with the technicalities of the law, we are frank to admit that it never dawned upon us at the time that the status of our case would in any way be affected by the agreement with the company, but such it seems is or may be the case, but we hope not.

"Substantially, you advise that the Buck's Stove and Range Company be requested to withdraw their counsel of record, appoint new counsel, who, together with yourselves, will present the facts before the court, have the appeal and cross-appeal dismissed, and that inasmuch as an agreement has been reached between the company and organized labor (the defendants), no good purpose can be served in the enforcement of the sentences arising out of the contempt proceedings, the decision of the court should be reversed and we be set at liberty.

"As we have already stated, labor has for a long time endeavored to find a case in which the principles for which we are contending could be brought before the highest tribunal in the land. The case, not of our own seeking, was found, and the proceedings under it held. We have maintained this position all through, and we have received encouragement and support in our contention such as have been given to few men. That encouragement and support were given upon the belief in our integrity and sincerity. Better than all, we had faith in each other and in ourselves. If we pursue the course you suggest, we would not only forfeit the respect and confidence reposed in us, but, worse than all, our own self-respect. We cannot, upon our own initiative, consent or seek to have the United States Supreme Court dismiss the appeal on the injunction, and thus establish the principles contained in the modified injunction of the Court of Appeals, with the view of having the court relieve us from the sentences imposed upon us in the contempt proceedings.

"We respectfully suggest, when our cases are called, that you will make a frank statement of the present relations between the company and organized labor, without attaching too great importance to the agreement, and then endeavor with all your power and ability to prevail upon the court to hear the arguments, and to consider and decide all the questions contained in the appeals. Because the principles involved in these appeals are so vitally important, they should be judicially determined by the highest tribunal of our land, the judicial court of last resort.

"Information has just come to us that not many months ago proceedings were begun against the 'Wall Paper Trust;' that later, in order to free itself from blame, the trust formally dissolved and went out of business; that when the case was called before the court this state of affairs was presented to the consideration of the court; that the court held that, notwithstanding the fact the Wall Paper Trust had dissolved, the court said it would grant the equity relief asked and the court would hear the arguments upon which the Wall Paper Trust was charged. We are not quoting the language of the court, but merely the substance which was communicated to us. You can verify or discover whether it is correct. It is simply stated so that it is founded upon fact, and if the case is applicable it could be urged before the Supreme Court of the United States, so that it may not be regarded that our appeal is a 'moot case.'

"If we should pursue the course you suggest and the Supreme Court dismissed the appeal on injunction as being a 'moot case,' it is not certain that it will reverse the lower court's decision and sentence in the contempt case. In that event we should not only have our labor for our pains, but we would be in the unenviable position of having attempted to compromise on a principle to save ourselves from the consequences of our acts in defense of that principle.

"If, after our counsel have made the statement of the relations between the company and organized labor, and have endeavored to prevail upon the court to hear arguments, to consider and decide all the questions upon the appeal, and the court shall then say that the injunction appeal is a 'moot case' and shall still consider the contempt case, we shall at least have the mental satisfaction that the dismissal was not of our seeking.

"We beg to assure you that we have no desire to go to jail. It is farthest from our minds to attempt the role of martyrs, but there are other considerations equally important, and one is that we shall not carry to our graves the consciousness of cowardice and poltroonery.

"Assuring you of our great respect for you and confidence in your faithfulness, sincerity, and ability, and regretting that we cannot follow the advice contained in your recent letter, and respectfully requesting you to continue to proceed in the case as outlined in your briefs and in this letter, we have the honor to remain.

Very truly yours,
"SAMUEL GOMPERS.
"JOHN MITCHELL.
"FRANK MORRISON.

"P. S.—This letter is being written in triplicate, and a copy sent to each of the gentlemen to whom it is addressed at his office."

NEW INJUNCTION RULE

About two years ago the Supreme Court of the United States appointed two justices thereof to make a thorough investigation of the rules of practice which obtained in the administration of the courts of equity in various countries, with the view of the application of the best of them to the rules in the United States.

A number of printed documents published by the American Federation of Labor upon the subject of restraining orders and injunctions were forwarded to the justices. The matter has been under advisement from that time, and on Monday, November 4, 1912, the United States Supreme Court issued a twenty-eight-page pamphlet promulgating the rules of practice for the courts of equity of the United States.

In so far as the new promulgated rules are concerned, Rule 73 is of interest to labor. We quote it here, as follows:

Rule 73
Preliminary Injunctions and Temporary Restraining Orders

"No preliminary injunction shall be granted without notice to the opposite party. Nor shall any temporary restraining order be granted without notice to the opposite party, unless it shall clearly appear from specific facts, shown by affidavit or by the verified bill, that immediate and irreparable loss or damage will result to the applicant before the matter can be heard on notice. In case a temporary restraining order shall be granted without notice, in the contingency specified, the matter shall be made returnable at the earliest possible time, and in no event later than ten days from the date of the order, and shall take precedence of all matters, except older matters of the same character. When the matter comes up for hearing the party who obtained the temporary restraining order shall proceed with his application for a preliminary injunction, and if he does not do so the court shall dissolve his temporary restraining order. Upon two days' notice to the party obtaining such temporary restraining order, the opposite party may appear and move the dissolution or modification of the order, and in that event the court or judge shall proceed to hear and determine the motion as expeditiously as the ends of justice may require. Every temporary restraining order shall be forthwith filed in the clerk's office."

Of course, we appreciate the fact that Rule 73, as promulgated by the Supreme Court of the United States, is a correction of and a reform in the practice and the abuses of some of the judges sitting in courts of equity. And yet, in so far as the rights of the working people of our country are concerned, or, more properly speaking, the wrongs which the working people of our country for the past several years have endured, Rule 73 fails in its most essential features.

The equity courts have extended their field of jurisdiction to the regulation of personal rights and personal relations instead of confining their jurisdiction to the useful purpose for which they were created—the protection of property rights from immediate and irreparable injury. Rule 73 fails to take cognizance of or deal with this abuse of power by the equity courts.

The inherent purpose of the injunctive processes, when there is no other adequate remedy at law, was for the beneficent purpose of protecting property rights only, thereby exercising the equity power of the courts to prevent immediate and irreparable injury.

It was never intended and there is no warrant of law in all our country to use the injunctive power of equity courts to curtail personal rights or regulate personal relations. It was never intended to take the place of government by law by substituting personal and discretionary government.

Attention should be called to the fact that injunctions and restraining orders as they have been issued against workmen are never used or issued against any other citizens of our country, and never against workmen except when they are engaged in a dispute affecting their conditions as wage-earners. It is an attempt to deprive citizens of our country when these citizens are workmen of the right of trial by jury. It is an effort to fasten an offense upon workmen when they are innocent of any unlawful or illegal act. It is an indirect assertion of a property right in men when these men are workmen engaged in a lawful effort to protect or advance their natural rights and interests. It is an effort to make outlaws of men when they are not even charged with doing things in violation of any law of State or nation.

The issuance of injunctions in labor disputes is not based upon law, but is a species of judicial legislation, judicial usurpation, against workmen innocent of any unlawful or criminal act.

Labor asks no immunity for any of its men who may be guilty of any criminal or unlawful act, but we insist that the wage-workers of our country shall be regarded and treated as equals before the law with every other citizen; that if any act be committed by any one of our number to render him amenable to the law he shall be proceeded against by the ordinary forms of law and by the due process of law, and that an injunction does not lawfully and properly apply, and ought not to be issued even in cases in which men are charged with any unlawful act.

In all things in which workmen are enjoined by the processes of restraining orders or injunctions during labor disputes, if those acts are alleged to be criminal or unlawful, there is now ample law and remedy provided. Hence the issuance of such restraining orders or injunctions covering such allegations or charges are perversive of fundamental rights and the true function of equity courts.

The injunctions against which labor protests are flagrantly at variance with law and without warrant of law; are violative of the fundamental rights of man and of constitutional guarantees of equality before the law of the workers and of all other citizens.

We are impelled to make these comments by reason of the fact that special interests of big business, and particularly that portion of the press most hostile to the cause of labor, have attempted to impose upon the people of our country the notion that Rule 73, promulgated by the Supreme Court of the United States, has affected the remedy of the evil against which labor has found it necessary to protest and against which it now reaffirms its protest. We repeat our expression of appreciation that the rule reforms some of the abuses in which judges, acting in equity courts, have indulged. But we also reiterate the fact that it fails in its most essential features to remedy the greater wrongs. And therefore labor, in the interests of the common citizenship, of inherent rights, asks and insists upon the enactment of law by the Congress of the United States and by the Legislatures of the several States to rectify the great wrongs inflicted upon the working people of our country by depriving them of equality before the law with all other citizens in the United States, and in conformity with this declaration we shall insist upon the enactment of the Clayton bills for the regulation and limitation of the issuance of injunctions, and the Clayton contempt bill, which provides for jury trial in all cases of indirect contempt.

HATTERS' CASE

The retrial of this case, Loewe vs. Lawlor, began August 20, 1912, at Hartford, Conn. As previous annual reports have presented the various stages of the case, only a summary up to date is included here. The suit growing out of a strike for a union shop was commenced in the Federal Court for the District of Connecticut, August 31, 1903. A demurrer filed by the defendants was sustained on the ground that the combination stated was not within the Sherman anti-trust act. Since the plaintiffs declined to change their complaint, the court dismissed it with costs. The plaintiffs carried the case, by a writ of error, to the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Second Circuit. For the purpose of having the points at issue decided by the United States Supreme Court speedily, both parties agreed this court should certify the case, and asked the Supreme Court for a decision as to whether the anti-trust act of July 2, 1890, could apply to such combinations of the voluntary organizations of the working people. February 3, 1908, Chief Justice Fuller delivered the opinion of the court that suit could be brought under the anti-trust law, invoking sections one, two, and seven. The case came on for trial before Judge James P. Platt, at Hartford, Conn., October 12, 1909, and continued on trial until February 4, 1910, when the judge submitted the case to the jury, with instructions to find for the plaintiff, leaving them to fix the amount of damages. The trebled damages awarded amounted to $232,240.12. The American Federation of Labor then appealed the case for the Hatters to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and secured a unanimous decision from that court on April 10, 1911, reversing the judgment and remanding the case for retrial, on the ground that the jury ought to decide whether any damages at all should be awarded, as well as the amount. D. E. Loewe Company, or the Anti-Boycott Association, sought to have this decision reviewed. The legal principle they wished to establish was the responsibility of all the members of the Hatters' Union for what had been done by their representatives. They contended:

"The evidence showed that officers and agents of the United Hatters acted within the scope of their authority in conducting the 'conspiracy,' and the defendants are liable even without knowledge of wrongdoing."

To substantiate this contention they argued:

"As interpreting the authority of the agents and officers of the United Hatters, it was undisputed that all the 'wrongful' acts that were done were to benefit the members of the union, and it was shown that they had been constantly engaged in these strikes and interstate boycotts for their members for many years past. Under such circumstances, the plaintiffs contended that the members of the United Hatters, paying due thereto, were responsible for the strikes and boycotts being conducted on their behalf by their officers and agents, as such strikes and boycotts were obviously within the scope of the objects of the union and the authority of its officers. The very essence of trade unionism is concerted action, and such action must take the form of withdrawal from employment or withdrawal of patronage. Since also the union was engaged in promoting the interstate sales of union goods to the exclusion of nonunion goods through its duly appointed agents, the members of the union were responsible for the boycotting acts of these same agents committed in connection with their business of promoting the sale of union goods to the exclusion of nonunion goods.

"The plaintiffs acknowledged that it was aiming at 'the very essence of trade unionism.'"

On January 15, 1912, the Supreme Court of the United States dismissed the petition for certiorari in the Hatters' case. Hence it devolved upon the plaintiffs to establish personal connection on the part of each defendant with the prosecution of a boycott. The President and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor and members of the Executive Council were summoned to testify before the court that the American Federation of Labor had never taken any official action upon the boycott of the Hatters, or taken any part in it, as had been charged by the plaintiffs in trying to establish that a concerted, unanimous movement of all organized labor had existed to "destroy" the business involved. The principles involved in the suit which the Anti-Boycott Association and the National Manufacturers' Association wished to establish are:

That labor unions which succeed are a conspiracy and a combination in restraint of trade; that human power to work shall be considered of the same nature as material commodities of trade or industry; that union funds and the individual savings and property of union members can be seized and appropriated to satisfy damages awarded against the unions; that union officers may be fined and imprisoned for executing those duties upon the performance of which "the very essence of unionism" devolves.

On October 11 the jury returned a verdict awarding to D. E. Loewe & Co. damages of $80,000 and costs. Under the provisions of the Sherman anti-trust law the sum named is trebled, making the total amount $240,000 and costs.

In his charge to the jury the Judge said that many of the defendants testified that they had no knowledge their officers and gents had been members of a "conspiracy" to interfere with interstate trade and the commerce of the plaintiffs, but that nevertheless the associations were voluntary, and individual members had vested authority in their representatives. The judge told the jury that if there was a "plot" to boycott the plaintiff's trade in other States in order to unionize the plaintiff's factory, and that if such boycotting had been resorted to, then the plaintiff should be awarded full damages. Steps were at once taken to appeal the case.

We are accustomed to refer to the Dred Scott decision as the example par excellence of juristic heartlessness in subordinating human rights to property rights. But the court interpretations arising out of this case have been more far-reaching and drastic. It has been determined that the sale of hats is of more consequence than human welfare. It has been maintained that successful efforts to secure better wages and working conditions under the Sherman anti-trust act are conspiracies. There have been committed into subjection, not former slaves, but supposed free men, enjoying the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is out of keeping with modern progress and the social conscience of the times that a law intended to restrain the greed and the cut-throat manipulation of corporations in the products of labor should be invoked to repress the activity of voluntary humanitarian organizations instituted not for profit. A labor organization is not a trust—that which it possesses cannot be separated from the living body and cannot be manipulated and controlled at will as can the material products of a true trust. If you can speak of a trust in labor power, you can just as well have a trust in brain power or any other human faculty—a manifest absurdity except under slave conditions.

Such a decision and interpretation could only result from long isolation from the affairs and problems of the industrial world. Those who are engaged in the modern struggle against the industrial aggression of employers and for human betterment know that the trade unions are the bulwarks of liberty of the present industrial organization. To render them helpless by confiscation, to subject their members to fines or irrational and whimsical imprisonment only opens the way for un-American violence and anarchy. In the interests of industrial peace, of progress, and of humanity, some remedy must be found. The remedy lies in legislative action. The paramount legislative issue for organized labor is the amendment or repeal of the Sherman anti-trust law, so that we may have relief from an act never intended to apply to us. Sturdy determination, co-operation, unfaltering persistence will secure us the rights and privileges of free men.

The Bacon-Bartlett anti-trust bill, which has been reported to the House by the Committee on Labor, if enacted into law, will secure to all organizations instituted and conducted not for profit the full rights of association. It will restore to organized labor and to other voluntary associations organized not for profit the lawful rights to which they are entitled as obtained prior to the interpretation placed upon the Sherman anti-trust law by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Hatters' case.

The full force and far-reaching danger which are carried with the Supreme Court's decision have not even yet been realized by the rank and file of labor. There are so many of us who are prone not to realize directly the full extent of a wrong, an injury or a danger when we ourselves have not felt its stunning effect. And no instance more distinctly emphasizes the fact than the decision of the Supreme Court in the Hatters' Case—how it affects the rights and interests of the working people of the country, farmers included. As interpreted by the Supreme Court the Sherman Anti-trust law not only holds that the voluntary associations of our trade unions are combinations in illegal restraint of interstate commerce, but that by withholding our labor, striking, or withholding our patronage, boycotting, an employer or business man who can show that his business has been injured may sue for an amount of damages and recover a treble amount with costs of the case; that each member of the organization may be included in such suit and mulcted in the proportionate damages awarded; that in addition, the government, through its Attorney General or through a Federal district attorney, may begin proceedings against any of the officers or members and prosecute them and impose a sentence of a fine of $5,000 and imprisonment for one year. Under that interpretation of the Sherman Anti-trust law, at the whim or fancy or pique of any Federal administration proceedings may be begun against any of our unions, and even our Federation itself, for dissolution.

All these procedings to mulct the men of labor in damages, fine them, send them to prison, have for their purpose the punishment of the men and women of labor who associate themselves, either permanently or temporarily, to protest against deterioration in their conditions or to secure a better standard of life in their work, in their homes, and for their dependents.

It seems to us that this convention should, with the utmost emphasis, declare that legislation of a definite, affirmative character should be secured which shall relieve the voluntary organizations of the workers from the position in which they are placed by the interpretation of the Sherman Anti-trust law by the Supreme Court, so that the humanitarian organizations of the workers may be removed from the category of the combinations of gamblers in human products, the trustified owners of the products of labor.

Quite apart from any other subject which may come before this convention, there is not any one ranking in importance with the one we have here presented. It is paramount to any question with which this convention will deal. It is not only the duty of the convention to give this subject the important consideration which it demands, but to authorize and direct that such action shall be taken as to arouse our fellow-workers throughout the country to the full consciousness of the gravity of the present situation under the Supreme Court's anti-labor interpretation of the Sherman Anti-trust law.

We recommend that prior to the report of the committee to which this subject will be referred, that the convention devote a session or a day to a general discussion of this question and as to the best ways and means to secure the relief which we seek and to which we are so justly entitled.

POST VS. A. F. OF L. ET AL

Our last report contained a statement of the origin of this suit through which C. W. Post endeavored to restrain the parties to the settlement of old difficulties—the American Federation of Labor and the Buck's Stove and Range Company—from carrying out the terms agreed upon. He invoked the Sherman Anti-trust law and claimed damages to the amount of $750,000. We entered a demurrer which was sustained and the bill ordered to be dismissed. From this decision of the court, an appeal was taken to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

The suit was fully argued before that court at St. Paul last May. The court took the matter under advisement, but has not yet given its opinion. This litigation is an illustration of the lengths to which a hostile and unscrupulous enemy of organized labor, such as C. W. Post, will go, in an endeavor to destroy effective and genuine protection for the workers. Having fail in efforts to undermine our movement, Mr. Post now seeks to destroy us by the process of litigation.

UNIVERSAL LABEL

A resolution was introduced at the Atlanta Convention calling for the appointment of a committee of three to study the cost of label agitation and to consider the feasibility of a universal label. Several years ago, it will be recalled, the matter of a universal label was very thoroughly investigated, and the plan was found to be impracticable.

This matter having been referred to your Executive Council by the Atlanta Convention, we in turn referred it to the Union Label Trades Department, requesting the Secretary of that Department to give earnest consideration to the proposition of adopting a distinctive universal mark or design for labels to be used by the organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. in connection with their own labels.

We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized, and the Union Label Trades Department and the international trades unions be requested, to consider further the idea of devising some general design which may be used by international unions in connection with their own labels, the aim being not to supersede or subordinate the individual union label, but to further popularize the existing union labels and the demand for union labeled products.

FARMERS' UNION

In conformity with the custom of the past few years, and also the action of the Atlanta Convention, that a fraternal delegate should represent the A. F. of L. at the annual convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, Treasurer Lennon was selected to act in that capacity. The convention was held in Chattanooga, Tenn., beginning the first Tuesday in September. Treasurer Lennon's report on that convention is as follows:

"The annual convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America was held at Chattanooga, Tenn., opening on Tuesday, September 3, 1912, the undersigned being in attendance as a fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor. Brother Barrett, the president, and Brother Davis the secretary of the Farmers' Union, were exceedingly cordial in their greeting, and manifested very great interest in the work of our Federation.

"At the afternoon session of Tuesday I was called on to address the convention, which I did at some length, dealing with matters wherein practical co-operation could be developed between trade unions and the organized farmers. The closest attention was given to all I had to say, and my address was received with evidence of real approval.

"I talked personally with many of the delegates who were in attendance from nearly all the States of the Union. All with whom I talked were interested in trade unions. They stand for essentially the same social reforms as does our Federation. They informed me that the sale of union labeled products was on the increase in their respective communities, this being especially true as to men's clothing, hats, shoes, and tobacco. This I believe to be true, because of the continued and persistent work of the unions making those commodities in advertising their label so that the farmers have become deeply interested. This field is open and ripe for effetive work by all label trades and the Label Trades Department.

"The Farmers' Union I found to be in a flourishing condition, having made material growth during the past year. Not only has the membership been increased, but effective work is being done by the union in promoting better results in return for the products that their labor brings from the land. I most heartily recommend that the Federation extend its efforts to help the Farmers' Union wherever it may be possible, and secure their co-operation to a still greater extent in behalf of the members of the Federation.

"I highly appreciate the honor of being a delegate to their convention, and extend to their officers and delegates my sincere thanks for courtesies received."

We recommend that efforts be continued during the coming year to secure better co-operation between the Farmers' Union and the organizations of labor, and that authority be given for a representative of the A. F. of L. to attend the next annual convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union.

LABOR'S POLITICAL PROGRAM, 1912

The progress and successes on the legislative field, as shown in our President's report, are gratifying, and shows also the results of our efforts politically, in all of which we fully concur. We quote the report made to us by the Labor Representation Committee, as follows:

Labor Representation Committee's Report

"Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 12, 1912.

"To the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.

"Colleagues: We herewith submit to you and through you to the convention of the American Federation of Labor a report of our action upon the matters confided by the American Federation of Labor to you and by you to the undersigned.

"Four years ago acting upon the authority and by direction of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, you selected the members of the Executive Council located at Washington as the labor representation committee, and authorized and directed this committee to carry on labor's political campaign in the furtherance of the purposes, principles, and rights upon which the American Federation of Labor had made declaration. We were at all times to act in consonance with these declared policies and submit to your further direction and approval. From time to time we have made report to you, the substance of which was conveyed to the conventions.

"During the meetings of the Executive Council in the early part of the year you instructed us to inaugurate and conduct an active campaign to the full limit of our opportunities, in accordance with the instruction of the Atlanta Convention that the labor representation committee be continued and authorized and empowered to act in unison with the Executive Council for the purpose of taking such action as may be deemed advisable and necessary for the successful consummation of the legislative demands and executive action by our Federal government, and in compliance with your instructions that upon the adjournment of Congress, or at as early a date as possible, if Congress did not adjourn before the conventions of the political parties that President Gompers submit a tentative statement covering the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor to the members of the Executive Council, to be submitted to the dominant political parties with the further direction that the subject matter be held in abeyance until the adjournment of Congress, and, if it adjourned before the conventions were held, that the resident members and visiting members and officers of the departments affiliated to the A. F. of L. formulate the legislative demands and submit it to you for your consideration. The instructions of the convention and your directions were complied with in every partcular. The demands were prepared in accordance with your directions and they were submitted to the dominant political parties at their conventions.

"No special fund was raised this year to carry on the political campaign, and the few dollars remaining in the treasury, were expended and this campaign more than any other has been carried on by the volunteer work of the officers and members of the labor movement.

"One hundred thousanud copies of the Weekly News Letter, containing the 1912 political programme, as unanimously approved by the Executive Council, were distributed. A copy was mailed to the secretary of every affiliated and unaffiliated organization, urging them to use their best efforts to secure the election of trade unionists to Congress and to the Legislatures of the various States.

"Too much credit cannot be given to the officers of State Federations and City Central Bodies for the efforts they put forth to secure the election of trade unionists to office.

"On account of the election having just been held, we have been unable to secure sufficient information to definitely report the results. We have sufficient, however, to warrant us in expressing the belief that the results will be gratifying.

"We feel that the campaign inaugurated by the American Federation of Labor in 1906, and which was again taken up with renewed vigor in 1908 and continued in 1910, which resulted in the election of fifteen men holding trade union cards to the House of Representatives, and a great number of trade unionists in the Legislatures of the various States, has been a means of increasing the efficiency of the committees that have been appointed by State and Central Bodies and local unions for the purpose of questioning candidates as to their attitude toward labor measures, so that the machinery for carrying on labor's 1912 political programme existed in nearly every city where we had an affiliated central body or local union.

"Our activities were devoted tarticularly to securing the election of trade unionists to the Congress of the United States and to the State Legislatures, but the reports received indicate that many labor men have been elected to offices of importance in State and municipal government. We desire to say that the trade unionists have good cause for gratification at the results achieved, and we take this opportunity of expressing our appreciation to the volunteer workers of the trade union movement for their active co-operation and earnest work to bring about the election of their fellow-workers to legislative offices.

"Fraternally yours,

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,
"JAMES O'CONNELL,
"FRANK MORRISON,
"Labor Representation Committee."

We present this report of the Labor Representation Committee with our full approval and expression of appreciation of the efforts which they put forth in the interests of our cause.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

On August 23, 1912, there was enacted a law "to create a commission on industrial relations." The purpose of the creation of this commission is set forth in Section 4 of the Act, which is as follows:

"That the commission shall inquire into the general condition of labor in the principal industries of the United States, including agriculture, and especially in those which are carried on in corporate forms; into existing relations between employers and employes; into the effect of industrial conditions on public welfare and into the rights and powers of the community to deal therewith; into the conditions of sanitation and safety of employes and the provisions for protecting the life, limb, and health of the employes; into the growth of associations of employers and of wage-earners and the effect of such associations upon the relations between employers and employes; into the extent and results of methods of collective bargaining; into any methods which have been tried in any State or in foreign countries for maintaining mutually satisfactory relations between employes and employers; into methods for avoiding or adjusting labor disputes through peaceful and conciliatory mediation and negotiations; into the scope, methods, and resources of existing bureaus of labor and into possible ways of increasing their usefulness; into the question of smuggling or other illegal entry of Asiatics into the United States or its insular possessions, and of the methods by which such Asiatics have gained and are gaining such admission, and shall report to Congress as speedily as possible, with such recommendation as said commission may think proper to prevent such smuggling and illegal entry. The commission shall seek to discover the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation and report its conclusions thereon."

It was further provided in Section 1 of that act that—

"Said commission shall be composed of nine persons, to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, not less than three of whom shall be employers of labor and not less than three of whom shall be representatives of organized labor."

Having the provisions of this law under consideration, your Executive Council, by unanimous vote, recommended to the President for appointment upon the commission John B. Lennon and James O'Connell. Realizing that a number of organized wage-earners are not affiliated to our Federation, the Railroad Brotherhoods, and believing that fairness required that these Brotherhoods should be represented by one of their choice, in making the recommendation to the President of Brothers Lennon and O'Connell the point was clearly brought out that the third representative of organized labor should be the choice of the Railroad Brotherhoods. We felt constrained to take this attitude because it was out of the disturbed conditions in industry which have prevailed for a considerable period of time that there arose that sentiment which prompted the presentation of the petition to the President which resulted in the drafting, presentation, and passage of the Industrial Relations Act.

We further felt that in view of the fact that the organized working people of our country are to be judged by the commission, that good or ill may ensue to our movement and the cause it represents from the results of the investigation of the commission, and inasmuch as both the President of the United States and Congress recognized that at least not less than three of the commissioners should be representatives of organized labor, we deemed it our duty to make the recommendations we did to the President.

The law requires nine members of the commission shall be appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate. Hence the President will send his nominations for membership on the commission to the Senate after that body convenes in December. There is therefore time for this convention to give its indorsement to the action of the Executive Council in recommending to the President the names of John B. Lennon and James O'Connell for appointment as members of the Industrial Relations Commission as two of the representatives of organized labor.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF HEALTH

The original bill of Senator Owen, providing for a Federal Bureau of Health, was redrafted and the alleged objectionable medical provisions removed. It was then favorably reported to the Senate. Though it was frequently debated in the Senate, yet no action was taken. The Executive Council recommended its amendment so as to include a special Bureau of Plumbing and Sanitation.

Surg. Gen. Blue, of the Public Health Service, in co-operation with the Interstate Commerce Commission, has instructed the surgeons in his department to make such observations upon sanitary conditions as their duties and experience may reveal to be necessary, and to make a detailed report to him for forwarding to the Commission on the Sanitary Conditions in Interstate Traffic. He has just issued the following order:

"Hereafter all commissioned officers of the Public Health Service, when traveling under official orders on trains and vessels engaged in interstate traffic, will make such observations as may be practicable of the sanitary conditions of the trains and vessels on which they travel and the stations and wharves at which they stop. The result of these observations will be noted in a report to be submitted to the bureau upon completion of the travel authorized.

"These observations are desired for the information of the bureau and for the compilation of facts relative to the sanitary conditions prevailing in interstate traffic."

The reports which will be compiled from these observations will give the results of a nation-wide observation, as officers of the service are scattered all over the country and are constantly on the move. If we attempt action upon this investigation, it will be best, therefore, to seek it through the Interstate Commerce Commission, pending the establishment of a Department for the Public Health. The Public Health Service, as now organized, only exercises jurisdiction in cases of grave menace to the public health or contagious or infectious diseases.

In spite of its many virtues, the Owen bill has been made the subject of bitter attacks by agencies whose special interests it threatens—patent medicine venders and others. We therefore urge more activity on the part of our membership for the principles contained in the Owen bill.

PURE FOOD AND PURE DRUGS

The American Federation of Labor has continued its efforts along the lines of having enacted better pure food and pure drug laws, and in this work has co-operated with the American Society of Equity, the National Consumers' League, and other reform associations interested in and working along similar lines.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

In December, 1911, a conference was called by Senator Page of Vermont to give technical consideration to his bill—S. 3—which provided for vocational education and trade training. Reference to this bill has been made by us in our previous reports. Prominent educators, agriculturists, and representative employers, together with the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L., considered proposed amendments to the bill and the best methods to pursue in order to secure favorable action. Senator Page reintroduced his bill with the suggested changes. Most of these were embodied in the technical features and in the agricultural extension sections of the bill. They were not applicable to the interests of urban labor represented by the American Federation of Labor. The result was that when the amended bill was considered by the Senate Committee on Agriculture Senator Page was ordered to report it favorably to the Senate. This was done on February 26, 1912.

The Senate considered the bill on June 14, July 24, August 10, 18, and 22. It still holds its place upon the Senate calendar, and, in accordance with a tacit agreement among the Senators, will be given further consideration in the third session of the Sixty-second Congress. It is the opinion of some enthusiastic supporters of the measure that it will be passed. Its enactment will depend upon the nature of the support given by those who have been urging its passage. This Industrial Education bill has been handicapped to some extent by the persistency with which several Congressmen, particularly some from the Southern States, have been urging the passage of that section of the bill relating to agricultural colleges and experiment stations, without regard to the other provisions of the bill dealing with industrial and vocational education and training.

The bill H. R. 22871 by Representative Lever of South Carolina was introduced by him on April 4. It is limited to agricultural educational extension work exclusively. It was referred to the House Committee on Agriculture.

Representative William B. Wilson of Pennsylvania had previously reintroduced his bill (new number, H. R. 21490), which had been changed to conform to its companion bill, S. 3, by Senator Page. Mr. Wilson's bill was also referred to the House Committee on Agriculture. A tentative understanding was reached between the chairman of the House Committee, Mr. Lamb, and Mr. Wilson, that no action should be taken on the Lever bill until after an opportunity had been afforded Mr. Wilson and the friends of his bill to be heard by the House committee. In accordance with this understanding, Mr. Wilson arranged with the chairman for hearings on his bill, to commence on April 23. He invited those desiring to be heard to come prepared to make their statements before the committee on that date. He took charge of the hearings, which continued for four days. The Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L., appearing in co-operation with other advocates, urged that the Wilson Vocational Trade Training bill be favorably reported. The Lever bill was reported favorably by the committee on April 13, passed by the House on August 23, and referred to the Senate Committee on Agriculture August 24.

At our meeting in January, after the industrial education bill had been given some consideration, we directed Secretary Morrison to request the members of the Special Committee on Industrial Education to meet concurrently with our next meeting May 9. The Page bill was discussed by several members of the committee at that meeting.

A digest of the special report of the United States Commissioner of Labor on industrial education was discussed by us. The A. F. of L. Committee on Industrial Education recommends to us that Mr. Charles H. Winslow be requested and authorized to prepare a final report for the committee, this report to be submitted to this convention as directed by the Atlanta Convention. We complied with that request, and Mr. Winslow performed this service.

At the following meeting of the Executive Council, we had before us the report of Mr. Winslow as accepted by the A. F. of L. Special Committee on Industrial Education. It was discussed and it was decided that inasmuch as the document was of such great public value, was such a magnificent contribution to the literature upon the question of industrial education, vocational training, household economics, and civics, that it should be made a public document by authority of Congress. Senator Page readily obtained the consent of the United States Senate to have it printed as a Senate document. It has been so printed, and is known as Senate Document 936, sixty-second Congress, second session. Several thousand copies of this document have already been distributed and a sufficient number are at the convention so that each delegate may have a copy. The members of affiliated organizations should request their respective United States Senators to send them copies for educational institutions and for the labor unions.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

In the report of President Gompers, as submitted to you, attention was called to the next meeting of the International Secretariat. In connection therewith it should be added that President Gompers has made report to the International Secretariat for the American Federation of Labor which, together with reports of a similar character from other national centers, will be published in several languages by the International Secretariat. Copies of these reports can be secured at a small cost. It is suggested that if the officers of any international union, or others, will remit to the President of the A. F. of L. the charge made for these reports, the order will be forwarded to the International Secretariat and a copy sent by him direct to the organizations ordering them. Copies may be had in the same manner by any organized labor body or by any individual.

ANTI-HOME WORK CONGRESS

In July a communication was received from the International Secretariat, the letter being addressed to the International Trade Union Centers, extending an invitation to all trade union centers to take part in the International Home Protection Congress, which was to be held in Zurich. The letter stated that the general commission of the trade unions of Germany would send a delegate to the congress. The matter was discussed at considerable length at our August meeting and it was considered impractical for the American Federation of Labor to be represented. In transmitting this decision to the International Secretariat we stated:

"Despite the enforced absence of any representative of the American National Trade Union Center (The American Federation of Labor)—at this congress, the Executive Council declares that home work, as it is understood and carried on as part of modern industry, is uneconomic, demoralizing to the men, women, and children engaged in it, makes impossible thorough application or enforcement of sanitary conditions of work, reasonable regulation of the hours of labor or the laws limiting or abolishing child labor; that the entire tendency of 'home work' is calculated to frustrate the humanitarian work of the labor movement for the protection and promotion of the rights and interests of the working people, and particularly detrimental to womanhood and childhood. The Executive Council, therefore, indorses and will aid to the fullest extent of its ability the abolition of 'home work' as it is understood in this declaration."

We trust that the course followed in this matter meets with the approval of this convention.

ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO CONSTITUTIONS

On May 23, 1911, the House passed the Statehood bill for Arizona. An effort was made by Representative Mann of Illinois to recommit the bill for the purpose of discarding the recall, but his motion was overwhelmingly defeated. On August 8 the Senate passed the bill. On August 15 President Taft vetoed the Arizona constitution because it included the recall of the judiciary. In less than thirty days from the time the President revoked the Arizona constitution because it included the recall, the electorate of California carried the recall in their election by over 100,000 majority.

The people of Arizona—in order to obtain Statehood on the President's terms—voted the recall out of their constitution on December 12, 1911. At the same time and at the same election, they elected a Legislature, the members of which were pledged to resubmit the judicial recall for a special election. At the special election which was held in April, 1912, the people in Arizona voted the judiciary recall back into their constitution, and the very first act by the members of the Legislature was to enact a law providing for the recall of the judiciary. The bill passed both Houses of the Arizona Legislature with but two dissenting votes in the Senate, and it was promptly signed by the Governor on April 27, 1912. The opposition and veto of President Taft and the prompt resentment of his action by the peopleof Arizona have given a wonderful impetus to the movement throughout the country in behalf of the adoption of the recall for public officers, including judicial decisions nullifying laws of a sociological character, passed under the public power. We trust that it may be extended through the statutory and organic law of the States. It is a remedy absolutely within our power to institute. It can be established quickly and maintained safely and permanently. By its use it will do much to preserve fundamental principles of democracy, and instead of having a government by party, or a government by minority, we shall have a government by the people—an enlightened, progressive democracy.

The situation with regards to the constitution for New Mexico was one which called for immediate action in order that the people of that Territory should be enabled to obtain such a constitution, within their own control to alter or amend, as changing industrial or political conditions require. It must be borne in mind that the constitution as submitted from the reactionary State Constitutional Convention was such as to make the constitution practcally unamendable.

At the quarterly meeting of the Executive Council, October, 1911, we decided that President Gompers should place organizers in New Mexico for the purpose of aiding in securing the amendment to the constitution for the State, which would permit the Legislature to submit proposed amendments to the constitution to a referendum vote of the citizens of New Mexico.

The constitutional amendments which were being advocated by the progressive citizens of New Mexico provided an opportunity for a majority of the Legislature to submit amendments to the constitution to the people and required such proposed constitutional amendments to receive a majority of those voting to include it in the constitution and make it mandatory for the Legislature to enact it into statutory law. All of the big corporate interests which had favored the iron-clad unamendable constitution for New Mexico fought the proposed amendment with all their vigor, and used every resource at their command to defeat it.

Mr. L. A. Tanquary, of Pueblo, Colo; Mr. Robert P. Rubin, of Salida, Colo., and Mr. John L. Lewis, of Panama, Ill., were commissioned by us to proceed to New Mexico and devote their time for the purpose of rendering such assistance as they could give. We are glad to report that the activities of our organizers whom we sent into New Mexico were successful from every point of view, and this new State and its people generally are deeply indebted to the activities of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of the effort we made to secure for them the open, free, and fair opportunity to change and amend their organic law whenever they may in the future deem it necessary.

CONSERVATION NATURAL RESOURCES

The Atlanta Convention authorized the continuation of the Committee of the A. F. of L. on the Conservation of Natural Resources. The personnel of that committee is as follows: Samuel Gompers, chairman; John Mitchell, D. A. Hayes, James O'Connell, and Frank Morrison. The Advisory Board of the Conservation Congress met in St. Louis on May 11. We had previously authorized President Gompers to act as a member of the Advisory Board. Being unable to attend the meeting by reason of the Executive Council being in session on that date, he authorized another representative of the A. F. of L. to act in his stead. At that meeting it was decided to submit to the annual meeting of the Conservation Congress for discussion and exhibits the conservation of forests, waters, lands, minerals, and vital resources.

The Fourth National Conservation Congress was held in Indianapolis, October 1-4, inclusive. The members of the A. F. of L. Conservation Committee being unable to attend the congress, we authorized the following committee to represent the A. F. of L.: Mr. J. M. Lynch, President International Typographical Union; Mr. W. D. Huber, President United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; Mr. Daniel J. Tobin, President International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers of America; Mr. Jacob Fischer, Secretary Journeymen Barbers' International Union, and Mr. Edgar A. Perkins, President Indiana State Federation of Labor.

The American labor movement is as much interested in the conservation of the natural resources, the conservation of men, as any body of people in our country. We therefore determined and decided that, unless you shall otherwise order, the A. F. of L. shall continue to remain a part of and co-operate with the Natural Conservation Congress.

MOTHER'S DAY

During the year we were approached by the representatives of the Mother's Day movement, requesting our co-operation in having the second Sunday in May observed annually as Mother's Day—a day of home-coming and of uplift to the home in honor of the home. The movement appealed to us as being a decided influence for good in the lives of our people and our citizenship in general, and we therefore gave it our official indorsement. We trust our action in this respect will meet with your approval, and that this convention will declare itself in favor of affiliated organizations and their membership observing the second Sunday in May of each year as Mother's Day.

McNAMARA CASE

During all the conferences of the representatives of our trade union movement of 1911, all through the two weeks of the Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and until a few days after its adjournment, so far as we knew and know, all believed in the innocence of the McNamaras of the charge of criminality lodged against them. Our belief in their innocence was strengthened by the manner in which they were unlawfully kidnapped from their home State by the "system" of detective agencies—a system which has since become a stench in the nostrils of decent men and officially stigmatized as such by the President of the United States and the Attorney General.

A few days after the adjournment of the Atlanta Convention not only the people of our country in general, but particularly you and we, the representatives of the great rank and file of organized labor, were stirred, stunned, and shocked that the men in whom we had placed our faith and belief in their innocence had proven by their confession that they were guilty. From such investigations as had been made by those supposedly competent to judge, the catastrophe at Los Angeles, we were led to believe, was due to a gas explosion. The solemn assurances by the men charged confirmed the general confidence in their innocence. Never for one moment did the American Federation of Labor or its representatives condone a crime, if one had been committed. Upon the contrary, every feeling and expression conveyed the hope that no man in the remotest degree associated with organized labor, or that any other human being, was guilty of an offense so henious. Then, again, long experience with the brutal side of many in the business world and their alliance with corrupt politics and unscrupulous detective agencies and AGENTS PROVOCATEURS, the hostile employers' associations; the circumstantial evidence connected with the destruction of the Times Building; the fact that Harrison Gray Otis, owner of the building and the Los Angeles Times, had for twenty years conducted a bitter, inexorable war upon organized labor—all this evidence, accompanied by the repeated disclaimers of guilt by the men, persuaded us into the full faith and belief that the men were victims of a vengeful plot to disrupt the labor movement of our country.

If we erred in assuming the men to be innocent, we did not err, as events proved, in assuming concerted and vengeful machinations on the part of militant, hostile employers and their hirelings. If ever there was a fight made upon organized labor, if ever there were efforts made to defame and discredit trade union officials, to abuse and mislead the rank and file, they were made in the months following the change of pleas in the Los Angeles trial. The spirit of Shylock, who vowed—

> "If I can catch him once upon the hip,
> I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him"—

seemed to be surging rampant through our long-time foes. Throughout the length and breadth of the land the hostile press united in a terrific attack upon the leaders and the purposes of organized labor. Bluster, innuendos, insinuations, were blazoned in a way calculated to do the cause injury. Every device was employed to confuse the issues and to make it appear that organized labor was on trial. It was due the public and our organization that an official statement of our position be made. Accordingly, the McNamara Ways and Means Committee issued the following statement, which was prefaced by a greeting from President Gompers:

"Headquarters American Federation of Labor.
"Washington, D. C., Dec. 9, 1911.

"To Organized Labor.

"Greeting: In the recent past the good name and high ideals of our great labor movement, its men, and the cause of humanity it and they represent, have been attacked as never before. Every enemy, every 'interest,' arrayed against the organized workers has howled like dervishes. They hope to bring our tried, trusted, and faithful men into disrepute, to destroy your confidence in their integrity, and thereby weaken and finally crush the organizations of labor.

"Every union member deplores violence and crime, whether committed by an ordinary outlaw, by a corporation director or agent, or by a so-called union man. Labor resents the insinuation that because one or two union members became criminally fanatical or fanatically criminal that the rank and file and the officers of the labor movement are responsible either legally or morally.

"Labor in its history has met, resisted, and overcome the bitter hostility of its foes. Labor, standing for the great cause of justice and humanity, will again.

"Men and Women of Labor—Stand firm, be true to yourselves and to each other. Let the spirit of fraternity, justice, freedom, and solidarity imbue your every thought, word, and action. Stand by your union. Organize the yet unorganized workers, and labor will triumph.

"The following statement of the McNamara Ways and Means Committee is commended to the thoughtful consideration of you and all interested. Please read it at your meeting and insert it in your minutes for future information and reference. Grit your teeth and organize! Fraternally yours,

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,
"President American Federation of Labor.

"Attest:
FRANK MORRISON, Secretary."

A Statement

"To the American Public on the McNamara Case:

"The McNamaras stand before the world self-convicted of great crimes. They have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment—J. B. during his natural life, J. J. for fifteen years. The position of labor in connection with the effort made to afford these men an opportunity for adequate defense before the courts has been attacked and misrepresented to such a degree as to require a clear statement at the hands of the undersigned, who are in the best position to make an authoritative statement at this time—a statement that will be strengthened by some review of the principal points of the case.

"Was there an explosion of gas in the Los Angeles Time Building when it was destroyed? Immediately after the disaster the press reports stated that men who had been at work in the building spoke of an odor of gas for some time previous to the explosion. Gas leakage in the building, it came out later, had been known to others. Many conservative trade union officials, newspaper writers, and publicists, on making an investigation in Los Angeles soon after, were positive in assuring the public that they believed gas had destroyed the building. Among the mine workers not one man, so far as information has reached us, has believed the destructive explosive was dynamite. Prominent officials of the United Mine Workers, cautious, honorable men, whose word is taken as truth by all who know them, who are familiar with mining explosives, declared that the effect of the explosion was not that which follows a discharge of dynamite. Were all these men speaking from blind partisanship or from honest conviction? Were they utterly mistaken? The answer has now been supplied by the prosecution. While the 'gas theory' was being hooted at by enemies of the unions, while even so late as last Friday night an editor of the New York Times was inditing a contemptuous slur at John Mitchell for supposing 'that proof would be adduced to show that an explosion of gas destroyed the Los Angeles Times Building,' the prosecution knew that gas was an agency in the explosion and a great factor in the destruction which ensued. W. J. Burns, in a press interview Saturday last, said: 'Why, McManigal told us in his first confession that McNamara turned open the stopcocks of the gas mains of the building when he set the bomb. We knew all the time that a part of the explosion was due to gas.' Now, the possible terrific force of a gas explosion, even in the open air, was shown in the wreckage caused by the accident at the Grand Central Station, New York, December 19, 1910, while the Los Angeles disaster was being discussed throughout the country.

"The fact of a gas explosion led all others in importance in the minds of the organized workers. Nearly all of them were convinced that it was an established fact. The most cautious reasoners among them regarded the possibilities of the fact sufficient to hold to belief in it until proof to the contrary could be produced. They were willing to suspend conclusive judgment while awaiting evidence.

"The public also wanted such facts regarding the circumstances of the explosion as could be accepted as evidence of the way it came about. What was given the public, first and foremost? On the instant, at the hearing of the explosion, H. G. Otis broke into a savage denunciation of trade unionists, accusing them of having caused the disaster, and he has ever since declared it was the result of dynamite. By this course he diverted the case from one in which citizens in common should have proceeded, through legal methods alone, to search for the truth. He threw the unions on their defense, outraged them, insulted their officials, raised animosities that could have been avoided. He was at once backed up by the small circle of bitter enemies of trade unionism, whose fulminations were largely made up of transparent falsehoods leveled at trade unions in general and at the leaders of trade unions.

"Despite all clamor it must be remembered that, with few exceptions, the international trade unions, more than 120 in number, are and have usually been in normal business relations with the employers of their members. Many of them have for years arranged their differences and their working conditions with employers through trade agreements or other methods resulting in a minimum loss through suspension of work. Violence in cases of dispute are not common to them. Trade unionists have been made aware, by experience, that stories of disorder by unionists during strikes or lockouts have been systematically exaggerated.

"Therefore, aware of the necessity of trade union organization of the incalculable amount of good in various forms done by and through their unions every year, of the long and bitter campaign carried on by Otis, Kirby, Post, and others, to destroy trade unionism, and perceiving the intention of these plotters and their detectives to ignore the apparent, and, to their minds, proven cause of the Times disaster, and to turn that terrible event solely to account as a means of discrediting trade unionism, the unions energetically stated their side of the case to the American public as they saw it at that time.

"When, after six months the McNamaras were arrested, it was in Russian style, not American. Holding the members of the Executive Board of the Structural Iron Workers in confinement without warrant, hurrying J. J. McNamara awdy from Indianapolis in an automobile and by circuitous routes taken to California—what were these but features of high-handed irregularity, and tyrannical lawlessness, known in arrests in Russia that precede transportation of prosecuted citizens to Siberia? And, when Detective Burns has throughout been doubted by so great a part of the American public, it has been largely the fault of his proceedings at this point, and of his own defouling the reputation of his craft, for has he not said: 'Private detectives, as a class, are the worst lot of blackmailing scoundrels that live outside of prisons.' (See page 357, McClure's Magazine, August, 1911.)

"J. J. McNamara had not been of sufficient prominence among labor men to be the subject of discussion as a leading figure, but what was generally known of him was to his credit. He was seen at conventions as a man of pleasing appearance and of mild manner. He was spoken of as self-educated and a faithful secretary of his organization. His speech and his writings for his magazine were reputed to be conservative. When placed under arrest, and throughout his imprisonment, his bearing was undemonstrative. His letters to officials of the A. F. of L. and telegram to the Atlanta Convention were concise and without suspicious characteristics. In no wise, to common observation, had he shown abnormal traits.

"Did organized labor properly express its condemnation of violence on hearing of the Los Angeles disaster? It did by interviews, addresses, and publications. The hundreds of union labor papers, in their issues succeeding the event, contained what, taken together, would make volumes, declarative of the sentiments of their editors and of the rank and file of union membership on the subject. All recognized the case as one of mystery, the feeling shown being that of horror at the possibility of any union man being implicated in it. Unions framed resolutons in meetings, declaring that trade unionism was not to be advanced by murderous acts. Union labor officials, and many others, were quoted to similar effect. The President of the American Federation of Labor, the day after the disaster occurred, as published by the St. Louis Star, said:

> "'Labor does not stand for such outrages nor contemplate such crime. I cannot believe that a union man has done it, and I deeply hope no one who was connected with the labor movement will be found to have done it. It is inconceivable that a union man should have done this thing. And yet, if it is found that a union man has done it, unionism cannot be blamed by fair-minded men for the deed of a man devoid of any human feeling, as the perpetrator of this horrible catastrophe must have been. It was the act of a madman. No one with an ounce of sympathy in his make-up could do aught but contemplate such a crime with the deepest abhorrence.'

"These facts were further fully presented in the June, 1911, issue of the American Federationist, in a seventeen-page article entitled, 'The McNamara Case,' in which the leading facts up to that time were reviewed. Speaking before the St. Louis Central Labor Union on Sunday, October 2, 1910, the day after the disaster, President Gompers asserted he would 'immediately turn the dynamiters over to the proper authorities if he could lay hands on them.' The Globe-Democrat also quoted him as saying: 'I only wish I knew the actual perpetrators, and if I did, take my word for it, I would turn them over to justice.' The universal condemnation of a murderous deed in labor circles ought to be a fact so far beyond question, so easily ascertainable from accessible records, that no man with any regard for his reputation for veracity could deny it. Yet, the New York Times, in an editorial last Saturday, printed this sentence: 'From the day when James B. McNamara's bomb blew his twenty-one victims into eternity, down to the present time, no authoritative voice in the ranks of labor has been raised to express the hope that the murderers would be brought to justice, even should they prove to be union men.'

"Relative to other phases of the McNamara case, the article in the June American Federationist contains these passages:

> "'It may be said that from that time (the kidnapping) to the present, Detective Burns, Attorney Drew, Editor Otis, C. W. Post, and the active agents of the extremists in the Manufacturers' Association in general have all played to perfection the hysterical characters to which we are accustomed in the pages of cheap fiction and on the boards of the Bowery class of theaters.
>
> * * * "'Nothing more surprised us in the series of audicious acts committed by Detective Burns than his saying to a reporter for the World, May 7, 1911:
>
> "'Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, knows by this time that there was no frame-up and that the arrests of the McNamaras and McManigal were not the result of a plant. Why? Because Gompers has been conducting an investigation of his own at Indianapolis that has convinced him that there was no frame-up and no plants.'
>
> "'These assertions of Burns were entirely without foundation. Nothing was brought to our knowledge in Indianapolis or elsewhere that could be used as evidence against the prisoners or to show that the Structural Iron Workers' Union has been conducting a dynamite campaign against the Erectors' Association.'

"Since the McNamaras' confession Burns has been reiterating this charge. The only 'investigation' in which President Gompers participated in Indianapolis was the meeting of the prominent trade unionists held last May, 10-12, called by officials of the eight international unions which have their headquarters in that city, and the meeting of the officials of a large number of trade unions called by authority of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and held at Indianapolis, June 29, 1911. What President Gompers learned there was precisely what every one attending the conference learned, and that was nothing that helped to solve the mystery of the Los Angeles disaster, or of criminality of any kind.

"Indeed, the unlawful and un-American kidnapping of McNamara formed one of the chief factors of fixing in the minds of the working people of our country that he was innocent. They reasoned, as they had a right to reason, that if there existed evidence of McNamara's guilt of the crime charged, every protection would and should have been accorded him to demonstrate before the courts of Indiana that he was innocent of the crime with which he was charged. His protestations of innocence, his demands to be represented by counsel, were all ruthlessly ignored.

"Violence, brutality, destruction of life or property, are foreign to the aims and methods of organized labor of America, and no interest is more severely injured by the employment of such methods than that of the workers organized in the labor movement. Therefore, quite apart from the spirit of humanitarianism and justice which prompts the activities of the organized labor movement, policy and hopes for success, forbid the resort to violence. The American labor movement and its men are loyal Americans and seek to obtain the abolition of wrongs and the attainment of their rights within the law.

"Organized labor of America has no desire to condone the crimes of the McNamaras. It joins in the satisfaction that the majesty of the law and justice has been maintained and the culprits commensurately punished for their crime.

"And yet it is an awful commentary upon existing conditions when any one man among all the millions of workers can bring himself to the frame of mind that the only means to secure justice for labor is in violence, outrage, and murder.

"It is cruelly unjust to hold the men of the labor movement either legally or morally responsible for the crime of an individual member. No such moral code or legal responsibility is placed upon any other association of men in our country.

"In so far as we have the right to speak, in the name of organized labor, we welcome any investigation which either Federal or State courts may undertake. The sessions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor are held with open doors, that all may see and hear what is being said and done. The books, accounts, and correspondence of the American Federation of Labor are open to any competent authority who may desire to make a study or an investigation of them.

"Will the National Manufacturers' Association, the Erectors' Association, and the detective agencies extend the same privilege for public investigation and examination of their books and correspondence?

"When we were selected as a Committee on Ways and Means to raise and dispense funds for the defense of the McNamaras and the prosecution of the kidnappers, we were fully impressed with the innocence of the accused men. That impression was strengthened by their written and oral protestations of innocence. We here and now, individually and collectively, declare that the first knowledge or intimation of their guilt was conveyed by the press in their confessions of guilt. From the outset we assured all contributors and the public generally that we would publish an accounting of the moneys received, from whom received, and to whom paid. This assurance will be fulfilled. A report in full will first be made to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its meeting to be held at Washington, D. C., January 8, 1912.

"The American labor movement has done so much for the workers of our country in improving their condition, in lightening the burdens which the workers have had to bear, bringing light and hope in the homes and in the lives, the factories, and the workshops of our country, that it challenges the world of investigators. The organizations of labor of America have been the most potent factors in the establishmen and maintenance of the largest measure of industrial peace. Their course is of a conciliatory character, to reach trade agreements with employers, and the faithful adherence to agreements. When industrial conditions become unsettled, they are more largely due to the unreasonableness of employers, who regard every effort of the workers to maintain their rights and to promote their interests as an invation of employers' prerogatives, which are resented with consequent struggles. If employers will be but fair and tolerant, they will find more than a responsive attitude on the part of organized labor, but of one thing all may rest assured—that with existing conditions of concentrated wealth and industry the organized toilers of our country realize that there is no hope from abject slavery outside of the protection which the organized labor movement affords.

"The men of organized labor, in common with all our people, are grieved beyond expression in words at the loss of life and the destruction of property, not only in the case under discussion, but in any other case which may have occurred. We are hurt and humiliated to think that any man connected with the labor movement should have been guilty of either. The lesson this grave crime teaches will, however, have its salutary effect. It will demonstrate now more than ever the inhumanity as well as the futility of resorting to violence in the effort to right wrongs or to attain rights.

"In view of the great uplift work in which the men of the labor movement have been and are engaged, and the industrial problems with which they have to contend, we insist that our organizations of labor should be judged by what they do and aim to do, rather than to be opposed and stigmatized because one or a few may be recreant to the good name and high ideals of labor, and we appeal to the fair-minded citizenship and the press of America for fair treatment.

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,
"President American Federation of Labor, Chairman.
"FRANK MORRISON,
"Secretary American Federation of Labor, Secretary.
"JAMES A. SHORT,
"President Building Trades Department.
"WM. J. SPENCER,
"Secretary Building Trades Department.
"JAS. O'CONNELL,
"President Metal Trades Department.
"A. J. BERRES,
"Secretary Metal Trades Department.
"JOHN B. LENNON,
"President Union Label Trades Department.
"THOMAS F. TRACY,
"Secretary Union Label Trades Department.
"Constituting the McNamara Ways and Means Committee.

"Washington, D. C., Dec. 7, 1911."

The following editorial was published in the January, 1912, issue of the American Federationist:

Labor's Position Lawful and Progressive

"We have nothing to hide. We are ready at any time for the agents of the law to begin investigating. Files, records of all kinds, account books—everything in documentary shape is open to them. All that has been printed, or spoken, or written to our correspondents is subject to their inquiries. Every act of every official may be freely looked into. No one is going to dodge or run away. Whatever can be done to aid the law will be done at these offices.

"This is our reply at headquarters of the American Federation of Labor to the clamor to get at 'the men higher up,' to the repeated announcements in the press of 'a nation-wide investigation by Federal officials,' to the assertions that behind the McNamaras were men standing high in the councils of labor.

"How to make our language on this point more sweeping we do not know. We could not do it in columns or pages. We therefore consider the point disposed of, in so far as it relates to our attitude regarding the investigation for which some men are calling.

"As to our position on the McNamara case, it is given in the statement which was sent out to the press on December 9, and which we reproduce on other pages in this issue of the American Federationist. We have seen no criticism of that statement which should cause it to be changed. We stand by every word of it.

"As affecting the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, the officers of the international trade unions, and the active labor men throughout the country who took up the defense of the McNamaras, the gist of the outcome of the case is in what was a mystery they were deceived.

"As to that part of the public which sided against the McNamaras—or was it against labor?—in a case which was a mystery, they know no more and no less than the people who were deceived.

"As to the future, how is trade unionism to be affected? With respect to this question we have looked for light from the press and in the letters coming to us in quantities from all parts of the country. What lessons are to be derived from this case, which is one of abnormalities? What illuminating suggestion has been sent in by friend or enemy? Is organized labor to depart from its regularly adopted policies; and, if so, why? Where lies a better course than that which it has followed?

"Nothing new has come in reply to these queries. Among the intense participants in the social conflict the same groups are but reiterating their well-known sentiments. What could be expected from the National Manufacturers' Association, their agents and hirelings, but precisely what they are saying—which is merely what they have been saying? What from the Socialist except to employ the occasion for vote-catching? What from such reactionary organs as the New York Sun but diatribes covering half the editorial page? So long as these declared enemies of the trade unions are what they are and unionism is what it is, no help can come from them to the labor movement.

"From the social elements that stand somewhat apart from the wage conflict there have usually come merely the suggestions of partly informed observers. Ought our Federation at once change its officials? Some part of the daily press, seeking to create a popular cry, calls for this move. That is worth no attention. Ought our Federation forthwith change its policies? The question in reply must be, Which of them? Each represents the wisdom derived from experience.

"A few humanitarians are declaring that a unionism must prevail which is grounded on 'industrial liberty.' It will have to be a new unionism with new unionists—and where are they to be found?—for the deceits in the catch-words, 'industrial liberty,' are known to all wage-workers who have suffered the unending competition which is an inseparable feature of a so-called 'free labor market.'

"As to the critics of our Federation's officers, most of them move in a fundamental error. They assume that the separate trade unions, in their organization, work, and affairs, are controlled, directed, supervised from our Washington center. This is not in the least so. To the national (or international) unions there is nothing 'higher up.' With respect to their routine procedures, their conventions, and their dues, assessments, benefits, not one of them is subject to orders from the Federation offices. They are autonomous. All of them are in the Federation under certain general regulations, chiefly such as relate to character of membership, 'jurisdiction' (the prevention of overlapping), the avoidance of duplication of effort and organization, and the adoption of methods for union agitation and education. By a vote of representatives in federation conventions the Federation can, for certain purposes only, impose a slight assessment—a step taken on the rarest occasions. The books of the Federation show how funds raised in this manner, as well as through the regular dues, are expended. They are published in detail in every issue of the American Federationist.

"So far as can be seen, at the present stage of this emergency, the friends of our labor movement, those among the general public whom organized labor has learned to trust, are standing with us steadfast. To their minds nothing has occurred to discredit the established principles, the accepted policies and procedures, or the general body of officials, of the trade union movement. What has happened has been a deplorable incident, a misfortune, an exceptional course of action, but which does not touch the essentials of trade unionism. The church, the State, every social institution, has had its fanatics and its criminals. No great movement but has had to survive injurious episodes and unwise advocates. In this ordeal for unionism, we have not heard of the abandonment of the cause by a single follower or a single friend. Not one 'if,' 'but,' or 'and' has been uttered by one of them to pull down or weaken the organization. On the contrary, assurances have come to us from strong men—in the ranks of labor, of the professions, and of business men—many of them strangers to us, that they understand, and approve of, the position of the American Federation of Labor throughout the whole of this chapter in the history of what is among the side issues of trade unionism. They have not been misled by the shrieking in sensational newspaper headlines, the rabid onslaughts of our rancorous foes, or the hypocrisies of those who, professing love for labor, would profit by the present occasion to deprive organized labor of its hard-won strength.

"In truth, amid the clamor raised by financial interests, by partisan prejudice, by sensation-mongers, or through mere shallowness and base truckling to the noise-makers, the country is being compelled to hear the voice of sanity and moral force. That voice is saying that if labor is the basic element in society the laborer's cause should be sacred to society; if unrestricted competition among wageworkers leads to the frightful deprivation, degeneration and collective slavery of the masses which even America is witnessing, the wage-workers themselves are justified in organized opposition to such competition; if trade unionism as it exists has been the only effective agency developed to help the masses of wage-workers to get better pay and cut off the work hours that destroy health and life, and in general improve the working conditions of labor encouragement to it is a national obligation; if it has stood champion for labor's rights, before our legislative bodies, before the public, appealing for whatever justice can to-day be had, curbing avarice, performing an unparalleled work of philanthropy in its mutual benefits—then it deserves to live, and to continue its mission.

"Who knows better than the trade unionists themselves the mission of unionism? How has that mission come to be shaped and developed? It has come through the free discussions, the public deliberations, the fairest procedures of a perfectly democratic organization. The voice and vote of the least man in the last rank has its due force and weight. Every suggestion from the mind of any and all of the members of a union has its open channel to reach the full membership. What step may, or ought to be taken, in organization, in efficiency, in policy, in politics, in exclusion or inclusion of members—in all such respects each union can have its share in proposing and deciding. Hence the history of the American Federation of Labor is the story of the will and wish of its majorities. How, then, could it be other than what it has been? How can it be other than what it is? It rests on the solid rock of the economic education, the recorded decisions, the deliberate will of its membership.

"Purification? Yes; of whatever evils, of methods or men, that may appear. That is a natural part of its business, as with every other institution.

"The methods of our Federation have been defined and defended on every necessary occasion. Despite the systematic, malicious, and mendacious misrepresentations of those methods, we repeat that they stop short of injurious attacks on persons and property, while they unfailingly uphold, to the last point, every right of labor and of the wage-workers—in their movements, on the highways, in their purchases, in their choice of workfellows, and in their organization.

"The men of our Federation have each a duty to perform, according to his place. Within the organization, the membership decides who has or has not been derelict. Without, in matters of the law, the government decides. On this score, a clamor—by the interested, chiefly—has been raised against the officers of the Federation. In reply, we say to the appropriate government officials, proceed with your duty. We are ready. You shall have our aid. To the country we say, we have nothing to fear.

"To the men and women of labor we say, the wrongs which the workers have borne, the rights to which they are entitled, should and must achieve, can only be accomplished by thorough organization, unity, and federation promoted and permeated by the spirit of fraternity and solidarity.

"At no time in the history of labor has organization been so essential as now. If the wage-earners of our continent hope, not only to promote and advance their interests, but to protect even that which they now enjoy, organization, unity, and federation are an immediate and pressing necessity.

"The concentrated effort and bitter animosity of the enemies of organized labor to crush out the spirit of the toilers, and with it to enfeeble or destroy the organized labor movement, must be met by the men and women of labor with an intelligent, earnest, dignified, and insistent attitude; whose solemn and imperative duty it is to openly declare the high purposes for which our movement is instituted, to show its splendid achievements already accomplished for the workers and make clear its noblest aspirations, not only for the workers, but for all humanity.

"GRIT YOUR TEETH AND ORGANIZE!"

A disclaimer of knowledge of the crime was issued by the executive officers of the international trade unions with headquarters in Indianapolis. They did not condone the crime, but regretted the industrial conditions and tactics of militant employers that led to what seemed to be manifestations of industrial war. They called attention to information and wholesale denunciation of trade unions that had so befogged the situation that honest men were misled.

But still the attacks did not lessen in violence or persistence. Detective Burns traveled from coast to coast, trumpeting loudly of what might confidently be expected in the way of sensational arrests and convictions of the "men higher up." By subtle and cowardly insinuation he made it appear that officers of the A. F. of L. were the "higher ups." When the President of our Federation made reply, this centered upon him the brunt of Detective Burns' unlimited stock of billingsgate. Burns talked ceaselessly as he traveled, addressed capitalist clubs and organizations glad to listen his attacks; harangued chance audiences and reporters, trying by every known method to destroy the reputation, to defame the good name and to undermine the life work of President Gompers. Avowing over and over that what he thought of that man was not fit to print, he continued his accusation, so planned that newspapers would give first page space to the stories. Evidently the design was by frequent repetition of falsehoods to make them so familiar that the people would regard them as truth.

Not only were attacks made on Mr. Gompers by the press and Mr. Burns, but he was subjected to a constant and irritating surveillance. Private and official detectives trailed him for weeks and even months after the confession. Their methods, combined with the press attacks, amounted to a most cruel form of the "third degree." Mr. Gompers was hounded by day and night, his acts and words noted, misconstrued, and thus proclaimed throughout the land; at night these sleuths haunted hotels, called upon him, sent messengers, called him up at all hours at his home or elsewhere. By permitting him no rest by day or night, no peace of spirit or body, they planned to break down his will power and endurance, to crush his spirit and drive him from the cause of labor.

When the public was wearying of Burns' oft-repeated charges and virulent abuse, the enemy sought to renew the attack on Mr. Gompers by a new method, namely, the canard: "Gompers desecrating the flag." The story originated with a fake picture published by Otis' Los Angeles Times, which represented Mr. Gompers' standing upon a table draped in an American flag, trampling and soiling our national emblem. The anti-union press eagerly copied. The cuts were embellished; the story did not lose in sensational flavor or detail of slander as it traveled from city to city. Again the aim was "to get" Mr. Gompers, to spread broadcast the impression that he was a foreign agitator who was teaching anarchistic doctrines and dishonor for American ideals and citizenship.

By persistent, concerted press action this slander spread throughout the land. The victim of the campaign was, of course, unable to give his refutation of the charge as wide and as emphatic a presentment. Experts pronounced the picture a most obvious fake. The picture was taken of the Labor Day celebration at Oakland, Cal., in 1911.

Then the campaign of slander was carried even to the United States Senate. Labor's old-time enemy (recently deceased), Senator Heyburn of Idaho, then took up the hue and the cry against our president's integrity. The Atlanta Convention directed that a resolution and preamble protesting against the deterioriation in the manufacture of the paper money of the country be presented by our officers to the President, the Vice President, to the Speaker of the House, and to the Secretary of the Treasury. In a communication by President Gompers that resolution was presented to the President of the Senate, was laid before that body. Senator Heyburn objected to receiving the communication. He charged that Mr. Gompers was not qualified to address the Senate, and, by indirection charged him with criminal complicity and even crime. Senator Reed of Missouri came to the defense, and completely demolished the objections raised by the Senator from Idaho. Overruled in this objection and the right of petition sustained, Senator Heyburn then attacked Mr. Gompers' good standing as a citizen, and by insinuation falsely denied his citizenship. The communication was ordered received.

Meanwhile an investigation had been instituted in Indianapolis against the men "higher up." President Taft personally directed the Federal investigation. Again wild and irrational rumors were furnishing first-page stories with scare head lines. Charles W. Miller, United States Attorney, was announcing that "Gompers is unsafe; he should be retired from office." Burns was ceaselessly bewailing that "Gompers is deceiving union men and must be dropped." While they were trying to create this sentiment, they were scrutinizing every scrap of evidence that might in any way implicate the "higher ups."

Another Burns fake was concocted, to be peddled around to the gullible. Ex-Mayor Bookwalter, of Indianapolis, was charged with having had information of the methods of the McNamaras and of being guilty of neglect of official duty in not prosecuting John J. McNamara upon evidence which was in his possession. Burns charged that Mr. Bookwalter dropped the investigation to become a member of a printing company doing union business—a firm in which Burns alleged President Gompers was interested. This rumor also died for lack of proof. Mr. Gompers never had a dollar invested in that or any other business.

John Kirby, jr., was proclaiming to the world that the American Federation of Labor was as big a menace to society as were the Ku-Klux-Klan, the Molly McGuires, the Mafias, or the Black Hand. The Los Angeles Times proclaimed:

"And soon—it has begun to happen already—the plain citizens of every country will form a combine. Its object will be the suppression of sedition and anarchy in the persons of the professional agitators. Theirs will be a big, powerful, effective, but very unostentatious, revolt. It will work **quickly, surely, silently.** The first thing the **Plain Citizen Combine** will accomplish is the **Quiet Removal** of these gentlemen. They won't be blown up; they will just **Quietly Disappear** from human ken. There will be a little inquiry at first, but it will die down ever so quickly, for of all people in the world the professional agitator depends entirely upon his presence and his glib tongue to maintain any sort of interest or influence in his followers. His impassioned rhetoric is his only asset."

Nearly every capitalist publicity organ throughout the country was heralding the "Blow to Labor" and anticipating the obituary of the American Federation of Labor and its President. With our enemies howling like dervishes, the investigation continued. Our old-time "sympathizer," C. W. Post, came to the front, offered Mr. Gompers half a million dollars to subsidize a "labor movement" (?) built upon the lines which Post advocates.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary of the A. F. of L., and Mr. Henry H. Flather, cashier of Riggs' National Bank, were summoned to appear before the grand jury to give an accounting of the McNamara funds. Secretary Morrison carried with him two trunks full of accounts, records, stubs, &c. Some of these were left for the prosecution and grand jury to scrutinize as long as they pleased. Mr. Flather gave information as to A. F. of L. funds which were deposited in that bank. The ordeal to which Mr. Morrison was subjected was nerve-racking. If, after all of his care and exactions, errors had been detected in his accounts, he well knew the interpretation that the prosecution and the poison press would have placed upon them and the use that would be made of them. Nevertheless, Secretary Morrison and President Gompers were, as were we all, sincerely glad to have the investigation made; they challenged examination, however searching and detailed. After thorough, minute, and expert examination, there were no errors found in Secretary Morrison's books, nothing in his accounts, papers, or testimony that could in the remotest connect him or any one else or the A. F. of L. with the dynamite case or with any other criminal or unlawful action. It was common report that the Federal government completely exonerated the American Federation of Labor officials or the A. F. of L. as such. Though Detective Burns, in season and out, affirmed that "Gompers had guilty knowledge of the crime," Burns has not and could not produce a scintilla of evidence to substantiate his oft-repeated misstatement. "Gompers knew, Gompers knew," was his incessant refrain, re-echoed by the press, so that the words might take on a familiarity accorded to truth.

This man Burns, who was seeking to destroy the A. F. of L. and defame its officials, has a record that accords with his own characterization of private detectives, which is: "Ninety per cent of them are the worst lot of crooks and blackmailing scoundrels that live outside of prisons." The following accounts show how this much self-advertised, spotlight performer always "got the man he was after."

In connection with a famous Senatorial investigation, Mr. Burns and his employes used a dictograph to secure an alleged confession from a man who, Burns alleged, had "perjured himself." Burns' agent explained his method of operation, read from the "notes" made from day to day of "conversations;" avowed that such sudden "love and affection" sprang up between himself and the man in question that upon the first day of their acquaintance the latter made the alleged confession to him. The official reporter of the Senate Committee, whose nerves were overwrought by strain and extra work, gave the committee an exciting session when he characterized some of the "notes" used by the Burns witnesses as manufactured. An investigation and a test were made, the results of which were published in the press generally and more in detail by the Washington Post, February 11, 1912. The report described the test and showed the following conclusions:

The shorthand clerk in the employ of the Burns' agency was placed under experimental condition duplicating as nearly as possible those under which he claimed to have taken the notes; he was in one room with his ear to the receiver of the dictograph; two other Burns' men, together with a third man interested, were in another room conducting a conversation. The shorthand reporter reproduced less than one-third of the conversation. He produced only 581 words, whereas, if his story on the witness stand had been true, he should have reported at least 1,500 words. His notes were evidently written at dictation speed, whereas he had claimed for himself reporting speed. There was no joining of words, no phrasing of words, characteristic of reporting shorthand. The test showed that the Burns agent had an average speed of 58 words a minute, while to report the conversation he claimed to have taken he must have had an average of more than 175 words a minute.

Further evidence which discredited the story of Burns man was the opinion expressed by expert reporters who examined the alleged notes introduced as evidence in the investigation and unanimously declared that they must have been written from slow dictation; that they were written in a crude and what is called correspondence style—a style meant to be used in recording dictation at a rate not exceeding 70 or 80 words a minute.

Another case, in June, the Seattle Daily Times reported as follows:

"Burns' detectives, caught and exposed in a desperate effort to railroad Dr. Frank D. Johnson, a young Centralia dentist, to the gallows for a crime he not only had not committed, but of which there was no evidence indicating he had even any knowledge, brought home to the people of Southwestern Washington a realization of the fact that there is no limit to which that gency will not go to carry out its policy of providing a victim whenever it is called into a case."

Lawrence Bar, the aged president of the Farmers and Merchants' Bank, of Centralia, Wash., was shot while resisting an attempted hold-up of his bank by Adelbert Clark. The Burns Agency sought and secured employment. It was alleged that an operative, passing as a buyer of real estate, ingratiated himself into Dr. Johnson's confidence, and by subtle suggestion so worked upon Johnson's fears and mind as to persuade him he might be implicated by circumstantial evidence. Then the "operative" tried to persuade him to go into hiding; next sought to induce him to flee to Canada; failing in that, tried to persuade him to offer Clark's attorney $500 if he would not disclose the fact that Clark and Johnson had slept in the same room the night before the murder; finally, a Burns operative, disguised as a tramp, had himself placed in the same cell with Clark, and induced Clark to write a note to Johnson asking him to smuggle a saw into the prison; when "released" he carried the note to Johnson, who promptly informed the Sheriff.

When Clark and Johnson met in the jail after the latter's arrest, Clark accused Johnson of complicity in the crime, and when Johnson began a vigorous denial a Burns detective refused to let him tlak. With such inhuman ingenuity did the Burns' agency seek to produce a victim. Upon these important points in Johnson's testimony the attorney for his defense obtained corroborative testimony in cross-examining the State's own witness.

As most indisputable evidence of the criminally crooked methods employed by Detective Burns is the following statement from the Attorney General of the United States, addressed to President Taft, upon land fraud cases of Washington:

"Washington, D. C., May 10, 1912.

"In the Matter of the Application for Pardon of Willard N. Jones.

"The President.

"Sir: On March 1, 1911, you commuted the sentence of Willard N. Jones in effect to four months' imprisonment in the county jail and to pay a fine of $12,000. On March 16 you received a telegram from H. H. Schwartz, formerly Chief of Field Service of the General Land Office, charging irregularities in the filling of the jury box from which grand jurors and petit jurors were drawn in the Jones cases, and also in the trial of the cases, and pursuant thereto to be made and that the execution of the penalty be deferred until the investigation be completed. Shortly thereafter additional papers were filed to sustain the charge, and a report was received from United States Attorney McCourt with which he transmitted additional papers formerly belonging to William J. Burns, detective, which were found in the United States Attorney's office. All of these were sent to you April 24, 1911, with a statement that I thought enough facts were submitted to throw a very decided doubt upon the fairness and impartiality in the method of selecting the jury and that in my opinion it would not be just to allow a man to be sent to prison as the result of a trial before a jury procured in the manner in which it was shown by the papers the jury which Jones was tried was selected. I stated further that the papers also tended strongly to show an atmosphere surrounding the whole prosecution which was hardly consonant with the impartial administration of justice. I referred, however, to the fact that the papers had not been submitted to Mr. Francis J. Heney, the attorney who conducted the prosecution, and who was at that time in California, and recommended in view of the delay which would result from securing a statement from Mr. Heney, that the sentence be commuted so as to relieve the defendant from actual imprisonment or if you desired Mr. Heney's statement before acting, that the papers be transmitted to him for an expression of his opinion concerning the points of criticism. On April 28, 1911, you replied, saying that you believed the execution of the sentence should be withheld until the papers had been submitted to Mr. Heney for comment and answer.

"Mr. Heney's report, a lengthy document covering seventy-seven pages, dated May 23, 1911, was received by the department June 28, 1911. Mr. Heney disclaims any knowledge of the matters charged, offers explanations and conjectures regarding the alleged irregularities, and expresses the firm conviction that the charges are baseless. I read the statement and referred it to the pardon attorney, directing him to look over the report carefully and also the papers and documents which had been received since your prior action on the case, and requested him to inform me whether or not in his opinion there was anything in the papers which should modify the conclusions shown in Mr. Heney's report. This the pardon attorney attempted to do. On August 26, 1911, he informed me that he had practically completed the preparation of his report, and although he had reached a fairly satisfactory conclusion, there were matters which he could not settle with absolute certainty from the papers before him and said that he thought it desirable the department should have at least some statement from Mr. Burns; that he had in my absence caused a telegram to be sent to Mr. Burns, inquiring how he obtained possession of the list of names which were in the possession of Capt. Sladen and Jury Commissioner Bush prior to the filling of the jury box, to which Mr. Burns replied that there was no truth whatever in the statements that Capt. Sladen or the jury commissioner had furnished him with advance lists of prospective jurors, and stating that he would look up data and furnish the department with a complete report of his connection with the matter, which was entirely straight and honorable; that he expected to be in Washington within a short time and would then make a report, and answer interrogatories by any one interested. Thereupon I directed the pardon attorney to delay the completion of the report until he had seen Mr. Burns. Mr. Burns, however, did not make his report, or come to the department for months afterward, although repeatedly communicated with about the matter.

"The papers received up to this time and reviewed by the pardon attorney in connection with Mr. Heney's lengthy report were so voluminous that the pardon attorney's brief had reached nearly eighty pages. He delayed the completion of his report, styled 'Supplemental Report,' until October 10, and then closed it with a statement that he did not think any fair or proper conclusion could be arrived at until the department had received a complete statement from Mr. Burns, and that it might be necessary to receive statements from others connected with the prosecution; and in view of the size to which his report had grown he thought it would be well to make the result of his further investigations the subject of another communication. This he has done, styling it 'Second Supplemental Report.' It is well that he has done so and that he has delayed his report until this time, as the department is now in receipt of such further information in documentary form that there is little left to conjecture as to what actually transpired regarding the filling of the jury box and the correctness of the charges made by petitioner and his friends. Fortunately, this evidence is of such a character that it will not be necessary for you to follow very carefully the line of reasoning, conjecture, and comparison of documents and reports received, which otherwise would have been required in order to reach, I think, a thoroughly satisfactory and convincing idea of what actually transpired.

"Nor is it necessary to review the offenses of which Jones was convicted, for the reason that if the charges made by him are true it matters little what the offense was; he should not be required to serve a day of imprisonment or be otherwise punished. The facts relating to the conviction are, however, fully set forth in my former report, which is sent herewith.

"It is charged by the defendant and his friends that William J. Burns, who was investigating jurors for Mr. Francis J. Heney, as stated by the latter in a communication to me, dated August 22, 1911, sent his agents throughout the several counties from which names of jurors had been taken for the purpose of filling the jury box, and had these proposed jurors investigated prior to the time the box was filled. It is claimed that these agents reported to Burns, and that he was able in some way to control, and did control, the selection of names that went into the jury box; that in this way the jury box was filled with names of persons predisposed to convict, to wit, Democrats, Populists, Socialists, and Republicans belonging to what is known as the Simon faction, who were antagonistic to the so-called Mitchell faction of the Republican party, to which Jones and the persons prosecuted belonged, and that none of the persons objectionable to Burns was selected. It is also claimed that offenses against the public land laws were of such common occurrence by reason of the lax methods employed by the government officials, or even by their acquiescence, that very many people in that section of the country had made themselves liable to conviction and punishment under a strict interpretation of the law; and that the prosecution, through intimidation by threats of indictment and conviction, compelled witnesses both before the grand jury and petit juries to testify falsely, and that witnesses did testify falsely in the Jones and other cases. These charges have been substantially proven, particularly those relating to the irregularities in the filling of the jury box.

"The department has in its possession the original reports of Burns' agents to him and those assisting him regarding the names of proposed jurors, which reports were made prior to the filling of the box. Some of the comments upon these names were as follows: 'Convictor from the word go,' 'Socialist,' 'Anti-Mitchell,' 'Convictor from the word go; just read the indictment, Populist.' 'Think he is a Populist. If so, convictor. Good reliable man.' 'Convictor, Democrat, Hates Hermann.' 'Hidebound Democrat. Not apt to see any good in a Republican.' 'Would be apt to be for conviction.' 'He is apt to wish Mitchell hung. Think he would be a fair juror.' 'Would be very likely to convict any Republican politician.' 'Convict Christ, Populist.' 'Convict any one, Democrat.' Burns' favorite way of describing an unsatisfactory juror was to designate him as a 's—n. of a b—h,' and lists are checked as 'S. B.' 'S. B.,' &c. Attached to the Polk County list found among Burns' papers is a slip bearing the following indorsement: 'Pat McArthur checked all on Polk County list who were good; checked on said list for s—s of b—s.'

"The department also has Burns' original statements of adversely reported names, some in his own handwriting, others typewritten. Evidently Burns, or some one for him, had gone over the reports received and picked out the bad reports and had them typewritten. This was done county by county, with the exception of Multnomah County, concerning which reports are meager, and in practically every instance all of the names on these lists were left out, and occasionally were the only names left out from a particular county unless the name bore a circular check, which indicated that although the name appeared upon the list, yet for some reason the proposed juror would be satisfactory. The conclusion is obvious. It would have been a remarkable coincidence for the jury commissioners to have selected for rejection ever from one county only the names which were reported upon adversely and which had been collected and typewritten, as above stated, but when the situation obtains with substantial uniformity throughout all of the counties save one, it is impossible to reach any other conclusions than that Burns in some way, either with or without the actual knowledge of the jury commissioners, caused the selections to be made in conformity with his wishes. In view of the high regard in which Capt. Sladen and the jury commissioners were held and the positive statements made regarding the probity of these men, I am disposed to regard it as improbable that they really understood the nature or the extent of what was being done, but there is abundance of evidence, in my judgment, to show that the work was probably done by Burns acting in collusion with Marsh, who was deputy clerk at the time. It is noticeable that the positive statements of denial are chiefly in the nature of an assertion that neither Capt. Sladen nor the jury commissioner could have been implicated in the affair. Even Burns, in his first telegram, does not reply directly, but says that there is no truth in the statements that Capt. Sladen or Bush furnished him with the information; and Mr. Marsh's emphatic statements have been largely of a similar nature. Indeed, some of the information which Mr. Burns secured, and secured so promptly, it would seem, could not have been obtained in any other way.

"It is impracticable to go into all the details of the corroborating evidence on this point, but if there were any doubt regarding Burns' connection with the affair and what he actually accomplished it would seem to be set at rest by his own telegram in cipher to Mr. W. Scott Smith, then secretary to Hon. E. A. Hitchcock, the then Secretary of the Interior, on August 19, 1909, the very date the jury box was filled and on which the grand jury was drawn. The department has this original telegram. It reads as follows:

"'Jury commissioners cleaned out old box from which trial jurors were selected and put in 600 names, every one of which was investigated before they were placed in the box. This confidential.'

"In addition to this, an affidavit was received on the 12th instant from C. N. McArthur, who was one of Burns agents in the field and afterward Speaker of the House of Representatives of Oregon. Mr. McArthur makes a complete disclosure of the whole situation, which leaves no possible ground for doubt. Among other things, he states that on or about July 25, 1905 (the jury box was filled August 17, 1905), Burns telephoned to him that he wished to see him in the District Attorney's office, and while there and in the presence of Francis J. Heney, Burns handed him a typewritten list and said, as nearly as Mr. McArthur can remember: 'Here, Mac, is a list of prospective jurors from several counties. Take it, weed out the s——s of b——s who will not vote for conviction, and return it to me as soon as possible; for we are going to make up a new jury box, and we want to be sure that no man's name goes into the box unless we know that he will convict, for, by G—d, we are going to "get" Williamson this time, you can bet your sweet life, and we will send this whole d——d outfit to jail, where they belong. We are going to "stack the cards" on them this time.' Mr. McArthur states that he became indignant, and told Burns that such methods as he proposed were altogether improper, and that no self-respecting man could be a party to them, and Burns replied: 'Any methods are justifiable in dealing with these s——s of b——s.' He states further that on or about September 1, 1905, he met Burns, and the latter said to him: 'Well, Mac, we weeded out the s——s of b——s, at least I think we did, and we will "get" Williamson this time, and, by G—d, we will get the whole d——d crowd. Old Sladen kicked like h——l because my men worked the lists over before they went to the jury commissioners, but it didn't do the old s——n of a b——h any good, and the corrected lists went in, anyhow.'

"Mr. McArthur, it is to be remembered, was one of Burns' agents and furnished many of the reports which are on file in the department. He claims, however, that he did so with great reluctance and under duress and after much persuasion. He does not state the nature of the duress, but I am informed is willing to do so if you insist.

"There are also on file affidavits of persons who claim that they were induced through intimidation and threats to testify falsely in the Jones case. Such representations, in the absence of other corroborating evidence, would not be entitled to very great weight, but when it is considered how emphatic have been Mr. Burns' denials and his statements that the whole thing is a tissue of falsehoods from beginning to end, it is apparent, notwithstanding these denials, that the prosecution very probably resorted to intimidation of witnesses also.

"In line with these practices, it is further shown that one of the defendants, with Jones, a man named Sorensen, while he was presumptively being tried by the government, was in the active employment of Burns and received compensation from the government under the name of George Edwards. In this way Burns kept tab on Jones, and the latter, relying upon Sorensen, because he was a fellow-defendant, accepted as jurors persons to whom he would otherwise have objected.

"I need not go further in a recital of the high-handed, outrageous conduct on the part of officers of the prosecution in these cases. The government cannot properly countenance, nor is it expedient in these times of attacks upon courts and the judicial system of the United States for it to lend its approval to any such procedure. In the light of the facts as they appear from the documents and reports before the department, it does not seem to me that any person convicted of land frauds by a jury drawn from the box referred to had a fair and impartial trial. For this reason, I feel it my duty to advise you that, in my judgment, Willard N. Jones should receive a full and unconditional pardon. In this connection I should say that Mr. Burns has been given the fullest opportunity to make a statement. The Pardon Attorney went to New York and interview him by appointment, but could not obtain a statement from him, though he informed Mr. Burns that he had with him all of the documents that had been filed, and would be glad to show him every one and receive what comment he had to make. Thomas B. Neuhausen, Burns right-hand man in the investigation and also closely connected with Mr. Heney in the prosecution of the cases, has been given an opportunity to make a statement, the Pardon Attorney informing him of the nature of the representations made and the documents filed, and indicating the conclusions to which the documents unanswered and unexplained must lead. No reply has been received. Such statements as have been secured are of an evasive character, or are directly contrary to the documentary evidence before the department. Even Judge Gilbert has submitted an explanation of his former emphatic statement denying that the charges made could be true. The course of the Executive, however, seems to me to be clear, and that is, he cannot countenance the methods employed in the prosecution of these cases by requiring an enforcement of the sentence imposed in the Jones case; and I think also and for the same reason a pardon should be granted to Franklin P. Mays, although my impression is that the man is really very guilty and deserving of punishment. Respectfully,

"GEO. W. WICKERSHAM,
"Attorney General of the United States."

The Secretary-Treasurer of the State Building Trades Council of California, one of the men indicted in the case, in his annual report for 1911 stated:

"In his private office in the Post-office Building in Los Angeles Mr. Lawler strongly intimated to witnesses subpoenaed before the Federal grand jury—men who were under indictment—that they would be immune from prosecution and possibly receive a substantial consideration if they would state that Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, knew that the McNamaras were guilty before they entered their pleas on December 1, 1911. Being informed by the witnesses referred to that they would not lie or perjure themselves to please anybody or to help one's political ambition, the special prosecutor waxed eloquent and forthwith delivered a lecture on good citizenship. He wound up by telling them that they would have to take the consequences."

In the course of the trial, when the District Attorney insisted that Burns had nothing to do with the trial, Attorney Rogers hotly retorted:

"Burns' men are concerned in every detail of this case, even to hounding our witnesses and watching our office and using telephonic devices in our places. No man could truthfully deny that William J. Burns' men, employed by the National Erectors' Association, were behind this case in every particular.

"It's a matter of common knowledge that the United States in this district, through Oscar Lawler, and in other districts has made a strenuous effort to connect Mr. Gompers and to bring his name in, and it is a matter of common knowledge, from the evidence in this case, that the Federal grand jury in Indianapolis sent for this check book; that it came into court from Indianapolis, where they are investigating these other charges. It is our contention that this prosecution against Darrow is only a step against Gompers. Mr. Burns is announcing everywhere that he is going to get Gompers, if he can, through Darrow."

Such flashes and tactics of the prosecution brought out the real meaning of the trial—the well-known struggle waged against organized labor by militant, hostile forces, behind whom stand the relentlessly antagonistic erectors and other employers' associations.

After the end of the McNamara trial Clarence S. Darrow was indicted for bribery on charges entered by Bert H. Franklin, a detective, who had been in the employ of Mr. Darrow. Franklin confessed his complicity in the alleged jury bribing, stated that he had first been approached with a view to getting him to turn State's evidence by a Deputy United States Marshal, and that later he had applied to the National Manufacturers' Association for employment—the association that had taken such a prominent part in the McNamara trial and has for years been the most bitter enemy of organized labor.

Throughout that trial repeated efforts were made to drag in the name of President Gompers, to get his name associated in the public mind with the crime, even though no complicity could be shown, since it does not exist. They attempted to show that the money used in the alleged bribery had been sent directly from President Gompers, though there was not one scintilla of evidence upon which to base such charges, and it is common knowledge that the President of the American Federation of Labor handles none of its funds.

Mr. Darrow said in his marvelous plea in his own defense:

"Only the infinite God can judge the human heart, and I never tried to judge. I never would do it, and hope I never shall, and when Harrington told me that if I would furnish evidence against Sam Gompers in their wild crusade to destroy the trade unionists, so that men and women might toil longer for less reward, do you suppose I thought or hesitated or waited to draw my breath for a single moment? I had no information to give, but I had as much as Franklin, or Harrington had. I could have told them any story that I saw fit. I could have purchased my liberty at the price of my honor, and then Ford would have said that I was a noble man, and that the fellow I was betraying was a Judas Iscariot."

And again Mr. Darrow reiterates the charge:

"Franklin told Watt and Steinman that the reason they wanted to get me was because I knew something about Gompers, and that if I said anything against Gompers they would let me go as they had let him go."

If any adequate conception could be given the world of the pressing, tremendous forces brought to bear upon the principals in the California trials, if the real history of the terrible affair could be disclosed to the world, the appalling disclosure of the methods of criminal big business would cause humanity to shudder and grow sick at heart.

The McNamara offense was a social crime. Thinking people who were made to realize the poisonous, miasmic influences, corrupting the atmosphere of industrial life, were well nigh overwhelmed by the weight of collective responsibility devolving upon them as a result of the existence of such conditions. The McNamaras were either criminally insane or insanely criminal—either condition due to imperfect education, incomplete education, or defective mentality. In any case, society is responsible for not remedying the conditions. What concerns labor and society generally are preventive measures and human betterment so that life and working conditions may be pure, wholesome, and clean. Those infected by deadly social poisons, due to social neglect, are the heritage of our own sins and those of our fathers.

The financial report of the McNamara defense fund, issued August 9, 1912, contains an itemized statement of all moneys received and from whom, as well as a statement showing amounts paid out, and to whom. This report was sent to all contributors with the statement that they would be informed as to the disposition of the balance of the funds when that question shall have been determined.

One result of the deplorable affair has been to rouse all to serious consideration of social problems and to convince thinking people of the existence of dangerous tendencies that, unmodified, might foster and intensify class hatred and terminate in class clashes. Many of these citizens formulated their conception in a petition to Congress that the President be authorized to appoint a Federal commission on industrial relations to investigate and report relations existing between employers and employes, to discover and to point out the underlying cause of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation. Congress authorized the President to appoint such a commission. This matter is dealt with in full in another section of this report.

None felt more keenly than did the men of the organized labor movement the crime resulting in destruction of life and property. None regretted and deplored the crime more than we, and none were less responsible for its commission. Such work is not the mission of the American labor movement. This great humanizing movement has lived and will live to protect the workers, to enable them to attain higher and better things of life. The American labor movement is founded upon the inherent principles of justice and right. Its men are loyal—as loyal to institutions of our republic as are the men in any walk of life. The unions of the workers have done so much for the material, moral, and social uplift of the toilers, that they are idelibly impressed upon the hearts and minds, not only of the workers themselves, but of all earnest, intelligent, liberty-loving, fair-minded citizens of our country. The unions of labor will live on, ceaselessly striving for the betterment of all mankind.

A. F. OF L. PUBLICITY

American Federationist

In the convention of 1893 preambles and resolutions were adopted, from which we quote the following:

"RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the advice of the Executive Council, be and is hereby authorized to issue a monthly magazine for the discussion of labor and its interests in all its phases."

In March, 1894, the first issue of the American Federationist was published by the American Federation of Labor. It has been issued regularly each month from that time until the present. Of its service to the cause of labor and humanity, all unite in agreement. It is not necessary here to describe the high plane upon which it has been conducted and issued; that, as we have said, is agreed to by common consent.

Weekly News Letter

The St. Louis Convention of 1910 authorized and directed the preparation and distribution of a Weekly News Letter, to be sent free of cost to all publications, devoted to the cause of labor or of a reformatory character. It was in pursuance of those instructions that the first Weekly News Letter was issued April 8, 1911, and has appeared regularly each week from that time until this.

In pursuance of the instructions of the convention of 1911, the News Letter has been extended in scope and volume. Instead of continuing issuing it manifolded, it was issued in printed form, and under the provisions of the new law governing second-class postal rates, the Weekly News Letter was so entered.

Shall Publications Be Consolidated?

All organizations, institutions, and interests realize the necessity of publicity. To none in our time is publicity so necessary as to trade union movement—to the American Federation of Labor.

Having these facts in mind, we are issuing the American Federationist monthly, the News Letter weekly, and in addition, pamphlets, leaflets, and circulars, the latter now frequently being incorporated in the News Letter.

The question of a general literary medium dealing with the fundamental principles of the labor movement, of the work of the trade union movement, of its methods and achievements, of its trend, hopes, and aspirations—all these are dealt with effectively in the American Federationist, perhaps not as effectively as would be done were larger means and opportunities at our command. The American Federationist has been and is of great usefulness to the membership of organized labor in general; it has been continually quoted by organizers, leaders, students of economic, political, moral and social questions of our time; it can be made of still greater usefulness.

The Weekly News Letter has disseminated the current events and achievements and movements of the day. It has given effective service to the labor and reform publications, has acted as a medium of news for them and has been the feeder to their support.

We have considered the question as to the relation of the News Letter to the American Federationist, the efficiency of both, the effective service which each renders to our movement and our cause, and the possibility of their consolidation into one publication to be known as the American Federationist and to be issued weekly, with the possibility of whether in the weekly issues it should not be only a news letter, but a comprehensive trade union publication, containing the news upon the field of the activity of the organized workers in America and the world over—all forms of work of a reformatory and uplift character, with such editorials and comment as may be timely and appropriate, or, whether the American Federationst, issued weekly, containing editorials and comments one issue of the month, and in the other weekly issues containing purely news matter.

Your attention has already been called to the fact that we have given this subject consideration in all of its phases, but we are not prepared to make definite, final recommendations thereon. It should be stated that if the American Federationist, with its news letter feature, is to be issued weekly, it is the intention that the publication should reach our labor and reform press about three days in advance of their respective dates of publication, just as is the case with the Weekly News Letter now, so that the labor and reform publications might have advance, or at least contemperaneous opportunities of publishing the news features with the weekly publication of the American Federationist.

Attention should be called also to the fact that prior to the issuance of the American Federationist, the American Federation of Labor published its financial reports quarterly in pamphlet form and forwarded copies to all international unions, State federations, city central bodies, and directly affiliated locals. When the American Federationist was founded the constitution was so changed as to direct the publication of the monthly accounts of the A. F. of L. therein, and that copies of the American Federationist should be sent to all affiliated bodies.

If the American Federationist is to be published weekly, there is no reason why the financial accounts cannot be published each month in one of its issues. What we recommend to the convention is:

That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and empowered to make a further investigation of the subject matter of consolidating the Weekly News Letter with the American Federationist, and to issue it weekly, with such general instructions as are contained in the resolutions of the conventions of 1893 and of 1910, and having in mind the constitutional provision regarding the publication of the American Federation of Labor's financial transactions, and that if the Executive Council shall deem such consolidation and change expedient and advantageous it shall have the authority to carry the same into effect.

A. F. OF L. OFFICE BUILDING

The Atlanta Convention authorized the Executive Council to carry into effect any plan for the erection of an A. F. of L. office building within the limit of the instructions of previous conventions. From time to time during the year we have inspected various building sites which have been offered for sale to the A. F. of L. for its office building. We authorized the resident members of the E. C., together with the officers of the departments and the A. F. of L. Legislative Committee, to hold a conference for the purpose of considering ways and means of raising funds for the erection of a building, and also to consider the matter of a suitable site. It was the unanimous judgment of all who participated in the conference that an A. F. of L. office building, a labor temple befitting the work, character, and dignity of organized labor, would be of great moral and sentimental value to the work in which our movement is engaged.

Having these matters in consideration, together with the cost of such sites as were offered to us for possible purchase, and the limited amount of money at the disposal of the A. F. of L. to be applied to the erection of an office building, we have as yet been unable to reach any definite conclusion in the matter. We recommend, however, that authority be given to your Executive Council to further consider this matter during the coming year, with power to issue an appeal and inaugurate such project or projects which may result in obtaining the necessary funds with which to erect a labor temple, an office building for the American Federation of Labor, its departments, and such other affiliated organizations whose headquarters are located in the Capital of the nation.

SECURING A. F. OF L. FUNDS

The Secretary and Treasurer of the Federation, in their reports, have fully covered the subject of the A. F. of L. funds. In connection therewith we direct your attention to the fact that by arrangement with the Bank of Bloomington, Ill., in which the A. F. of L. funds are deposited, a bonding company has guaranteed the funds.

BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT

At the Atlanta Convention a resolution was introduced condemning the boy scout organization and the boy scout movement, which, after due deliberation, was referred to the Executive Council for investigation and for report thereon to this convention.

The American Boy Scouts was introduced into this country some years ago. The movement originated in England. This movement was transported in its entirety and without and changes. The scouts were required to learn military drills and use the rifle. The scout organization in England originated with Lieut. Gen. Baden-Powell. It followed closely the South African war that had alarmed England as to her future fighting stock. The movement appeared to be military cabal, as the scouts were being trained to arms and inured to the privations of camp life. There are about 400,000 boys organized in England and in her colonies. The founders of the movement in this country suggested the organization of the American Boy Scouts as a national institution.

Prominent workers for boy welfare attended meetings and helped to launch the movement, which rapidly spread to other cities and towns. Their efforts met with hearty support from prominent men throughout the country.

Instruction for the boy scouts included the rudiments of military training, camping, cooking, signaling, woodcraft, swimming, boating, the rescue of persons from the water, fire, &c. Special achievements were rewarded by certificates and medals. Official uniforms were adopted. Military terms were used in connection with organization, such as enlisting and recruiting; drummers and trumpeters were encouraged to join the organization. In addition to the games and drills, there was the boy scout law, which, with the scout oath, made up the code. The second section of the scout law contained the following sentences: "A scout is loyal to his parents, to his superiors, to his country, and to his employers. He must stick to them through thick and thin against every one who is their enemy or even talks badly of them."

This organization of scouts became very popular and attracted much attention, although exact information of its aims and purposes was not generally known. The attention of organized labor was attracted to the movement by two characteristics—its tendency to foster militarism and possible interference with organized labor. Its military tendencies were emphasized by the expressions of those who were backing it so that its chief purpose seemed to be that of a feeder to the army. Military ideals were held up to impressionable youths. The possibility of its antagonism to labor organizations by using and training the boys as strike-breakers was brought out by two illustrations. At Des Moines, Iowa, boy scouts were used to break a strike of bootblacks who wished to increase their prices. At Ironton, Mo., a scout musical band was organized which competed with a band of organized musicians. In Chicago some of the teachers in the public schools who were organized in the Chicago Teachers' Federation became alarmed at tendencies and appointed a committee to investigate the organization and its purposes, but this committee was not permitted to attend any of the meetings of the officials. Accordingly the Teachers' Federation, after making all observations and investigation possible, adopted resolutions condemning the organization because of its military nature, and because it appointed as teachers of immature boys persons not required to conform to the usual qualifications and standards, and because it placed instruction that properly belonged to the public schools under outside jurisdiction. The Chicago Federation of Labor also passed resolutions condemning the movement.

At the May meeting of the Executive Council, held in Washington, representatives of the boy scout movement, Mr. James E. West, the Executive Secretary of New York, and Mr. E. S. Martin, the Executive Secretary of Washington, appeared before the Council, explained the movement, and filed documents. This conference and the data filed brought out the following facts:

There are in the United States two boy scout movements—the American Boy Scouts and the Boy Scouts of America. The ideals and activities of the Boy Scouts of America are for peace and the building up of body, mind, and character. The rifle is not a part of their equipment. It seems that in the launching of the movement, as a result of increasing and insistent demands for information from all over the country, that a manual was hastily prepared for use. In this rather unwise haste the manual was taken bodily from that used in England and was not carefully edited. As a result, there appeared in the manual considerable emphasis on militarism, and the section just quoted which roused organized labor. As soon as popular criticism called the attention of the Executive Board to these objections, the Board directed that the plates of the book be changed as soon as possible.

Either these matters had been allowed to creep into the organization through oversight or failure to consider all their bearings, or popular criticism had convinced the leaders that a change of ideals was necessary to adapt the movement to American boys. Changes were made in some of the scout laws and requirements, those containing the references to implicit loyalty and obedience to employers, which were most offensive to labor, were changed entirely. The clause which stated: "A scout is loyal to the President and to his officers and to his parents, his country and employers, he must stick to them through thick and thin against any one who is their enemy and who even talks badly of them," was changed to read: "A scout is loyal, is loyal to all to whom loyalty is due; his scout leader, his home, and parents and country." Another clause, which read: "A scout obeys orders from his parents, patrol leaders, and scout masters without question," was revised to read: "A scout is obedient, he obeys his parents, scout master, patrol leader, and all other duly constituted authorities." Whatever the reason for the change, the revision removes the serious objection that the organization was intended to break strikes.

The objection to the organization on the ground of encouraging militarism is not so clearly refuted. It is quite evident that though the letter of the constitution and by-laws may not openly favor military training, the spirit of the organization could very readily develop that tendency and could endow military purposes and ideals with a glamor that would allure many an American boy. Then, too, the fact that last winter the lecture given in this country by Gen. Baden-Powell under the auspices of the Boy Scouts of America upon the subject of "Scouting in War and Peace," seems to indicate friendly relations with that organization and to clearly emphasize the ultimate military purposes fo the organization, for which Gen. Baden-Powell himself stands.

In a letter which Mr. James E. West wrote to Mr. Owen Miller, Secretary of the American Federation of Musicians, in regard to the difficulties which arose in St. Louis, it is stated:

"It is only fair that I should correct one statement in your letter with reference to the American Boy Scouts. That organization is still in existence, although practically all of the branches throughout the country have become affiliated with this organization. There are, however, a number of unattached groups which are working practically without supervision. They drill with rifles, and in fact most of their activities are purely military. To this we are radically opposed."

It is not quite clear just what Mr. West implies by saying that branches of that old organization have affiliated with his organization. It is not plain whether or not these affiliated branches have ceased all connection with the older organization.

As to the specific charges of hostility to labor organizations, the following replies were made: In regard to the Des Moines incident, it was said that the bootblacks were Greek boys who were endeavoring to take advantage of a temporary increase in demand due to a fair, and increased their charges from 5 cents to 10 cents. A scout leader who was rather indignant at the attempt at what he termed "extortion," impulsively asserted that he could supply enough bootblacks from his boy scouts to do all the work at the old price. Mr. West asserted that there was no strike or labor difficulty involved, and that the speaker did not intend to imply any avowed policy of opposition to labor organizations as such. The incident was purely local and did not represent the ideals and purposes of the movement.

Referring to the Ironton band, he stated that he had known nothing of the affair until the incident was called to his attention, and that it was not the purpose of the organization to encourage the organization of scout bands, and it certainly did not approve of the organization of such bands for the purpose of competition. It was simply a case of a local authority failing to carry out the spirit and the ideals of the national movement.

In regard to the resolutions of the Chicago teachers, it is possible that in this case also the ground for opposition was occasioned by lack of harmony between the local authorities and the avowed purposes and intent of the organization. The argument of the teachers that the work done by the boy scout organization in nature study, wood craft, physical culture, and ethics belongs to the teachers and the school, is not altogether convincing. It is true that some of the more progressive schools have attempted something along these lines, but the greater proportion of the schools outside of the large cities do very little of this work. This is due to lack of funds, and to the low salaries paid the teachers, so that well-equipped and efficient instructors are not secured. While to incorporate all of these lines in a full and complete education may be the ideal toward which the schools are working, very few have attained this ideal and there seems no present prospect of its universal attainment. In the meanwhile, if these different objects can be worked out by some outside organization, their practicability and feasibility fully demonstrated, their usefulness in child development fully illustrated, it will be much easier for the public to demand that they be made part of the ordinary school curriculum and that teachers trained in these lines be employed.

If the full responsibility of instructing the youth of our country in morals and ethics be placed upon the public schools under their present organization, the load might be more than they could carry. At present it is impossible to keep the boys and girls under their constant supervision. During the months of summer vacation, as well as during that part of the day not spent in the school, there is absolutely no control. If some outside organization can supplement this moral and ethical instruction the American school boy will be the gainer. Under the present organization a great majority of the teachers are women, and it would not be practicable to expect them to lead the boys in cross-country "hikes," outdoor gymnastics, and camp life. To be sure, the change would lead to training and employment of more qualified teachers, or to the utilization of the present force in the school. But it should be noted that many of the leaders of the boy scouts are the trained, active, and efficient men teachers in the public schools, so that after all the school still has an influence in the boy scout movement which should be increased and developed.

The boy scout movement seems to be one phase of a larger movement, sometimes termed the "simple life," the purpose of which is to counteract the injurious effects of our increasingly complex civilization and method of living. The idea is to get back to the elemental things to close contact with the earth, forest, and water, to develop a strong, vigorous physique so that the boy may know the pure joy of mere living, and as a strong, healthy animal be able to take care of himself under all circumstances without artificial assistance. Our artificial method of living and the strain of modern industry have so taxed the physical endurance of the race that scientists have been constantly warning us that we must conserve our physical resources or the race will deteriorate. The boy scout movement rightly directed will help to solve this problem.

Another present ideal of the organization is to develop all of the good qualities resulting from military life without the attendant evils of militarism. To gain these results, boys are taught to regard as sports the stalking of animals, to learn their customs, to catch a picture of them in their native haunts, exploring, &c. There is much about the activities of the organization that would serve as a school for training the imagination, such as the emphasis laid on legends, animal life, the weird mystery of the camp fire, the long nights spent in the open with only the stars overhead, and the winds telling strange stories of the stream and forest and hillside. These things bring out the poetry of life and the poetry of the world, and serve as an antidote for much of our too practical civilization.

The movement seizes the keener interests of the boys of the adolescence age and directs them toward pure and simple things, and in this way keeps them away from much of the evil and impure that would otherwise occupy their thoughts and time. It deals with the problems of child training by the simple process of substituting good things for evil things and crowding out what would be detrimental. The lists of activities, any one of which each scout may pursue in order to win distinction is a very wide one, and includes almost every form of useful human activity.

The ideals of the movement seem to be well chosen and calculated to develop poise, self-confidence, and comradeship among the boys. Of course, in any organization of such a size and scope there is a chance for the machinery to be misused by some of the agents selected. This is true of any organization, for only through the human agency can any ideal be realized, and in dealing with each human agent the personal equation will modify more or less the purposes and instructions of the officials. Wherever there is a great chance for good to be done there is also a great chance for evil to result through mismanagement. The causes for complaint and objection have so far been purely local. On the whole, however, the officials seem amenable to suggestion and desirous of doing what the public demands.

The officials have expressed a desire to shape the ideals and practices of the movement in accord with the aims and ideals of organized labor. The boy scout movement is now in the formative period; it is daily gaining in popularity and influence; it promises to have great power in boy life for good or evil. Whether this power shall be directed toward militarism or toward idealizing the avocations and pursuits pertaining to peace and civic and social uplift is now to be determined. The movement has features and tendencies that can now be turned in either direction. If organizations working to promote the general uplift, endeavoring to develop the best that is in humanity, should indorse the movement, it will be within their power to keep the boy scout movement away from militarism, in the direction of pure wholesome ideals. If we keep in touch with the movement, we may be able to shape and direct it; if we condemn it, we shall find more difficulty in defeating the military tendencies that can so easily develop and dominate the movement, and thereby exert a far-reaching and potent influence in boy life.

Much of the work the boy scout is doing might and should be under the control and supervision of the public school system. There is a growing demand throughout the length and breadth of the land that the scope and ideals of education should be widened and adapted to needs of all of the children; that the school may not only serve for the training of the mind and for cultural purposes, but shall train the children to conserve and control their resources—mental, physical, and moral; that the school shall not only prepare for future life and work, but shall enter into and direct in the best channels child life, interests, and ideals. The possibilities open to the school for influencing standards of honor and ethics is a function that cannot be too strongly or gravely emphasized. We cannot recommend too heartily that every facility for education, for the conservation and development of the physical, mental, and moral faculties be afforded to every child within our country. We are just beginning to catch a glimpse of the development possible under proper direction and control. This is the full duty of the school—let it enter into its heritage.

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor do not denounce the boy scout movement; that, on the contrary, the officers of the A. F. of L. shall keep in constant touch with that movement so as to prevent its activities or purposes being directed toward any military movement or militarism in any form, and that in matters affecting the rights and interests of the working people that the boy scout movement be urged to a constantly closer sympathetic attitude toward the organized labor movement in its work and struggle for the achievement of a higher material, political, moral, and social standard for the toilers of our country.

COMBINING REPORTS TO CONVENTIONS

The Executive Council has had under consideration a suggestion of our President, and in which we not only concur, but recommend for adoption. Under the system which has prevailed in our Federation since its inception, the laws have required that the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and the Executive Council shall each submit a report to our annual conventions. By reason of this custom, it has frequently occurred that many of the subjects with which these officers have dealt in their reports have been duplicated, and in some instances triplicated. This feature is not necessarily an evil, though it may be a lack of conserving the time of the conventions. But quite apart from this feature, though it has not arisen in the past, there is a likelihood of its occurring in the future, of individual conflicting expression of judgment and recommendation. It is the opinion of the Executive Council, in which all its members concur, that the report submitted to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor should be the expression of the judgment of the collective opinion of the men intrusted with the affairs of labor rather than any individual judgment of any individual officer thereof. We hold that the organized labor movement, as represented in the American Federation of Labor, is an entity, and after a thorough discussion of all the subjects which come under the consideration of our conventions, there should be reported to the following conventions of the American Federation of Labor not only the activities of its executive and fiduciary officers, but the combined report of the activities, of the expression of judgment, and of the recommendations to the convention.

It is therefore the unanimous recommendation of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. that our laws be so changed as to eliminate from the Constitution and the custom, the requirement that either the President, the Secretary, or the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor shall report individually to the future conventions, and that the reports or recommendations of the President, Secretary, and Treasurer shall, after scrutiny and determination, be incorporated in or become a part of the report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. We recommend that this subject matter be referred to the Committee on Laws of this convention for its consideration and report to this convention.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS BY INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

Investigation of Subject

The Atlanta Convention, after considerable discussion, adopted the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That we favor the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum vote of the membership of the affiliated unions who are paid up and in good standing, if after thorough investigation, mature and deliberate consideration, it is found to be practicable and for the best interests of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it further

"Resolved, That the question of the practicability and desirability of electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor by referendum vote be referred to the Executive Council for investigation, with the understanding that they report on this subject to the next annual convention for its consideration."

After discussing these instructions at our first meeting of the year, and the best method to ascertain the information upon the election of the A. F. of L. officers by the system of the initiative and referendum, we directed President Gompers and Secretary Morrison to secure all the data that could be obtained from all sources, particularly from the organized labor movement of America and of some European countries; for, after all, the knowledge and experience of affiliated and unaffiliated organizations of labor in the election of their officers by the initiative and referendum system, if any, would necessarily largely influence the judgment and action as to whether the application of this system would be feasible, practical, or possible in the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. Comprehensive blanks and letters accompanying were prepared and sent to all such organizations, the information sought covering the following principal points of inquiry:

The makeup of the organization;

The method of electing officers, whether by convention, or the initiative and referendum;

The frequency of such elections;

The terms of officers;

If elections are by the initiative and referendum, the method employed;

If established, whether it had been maintained or abandoned;

If established, the methods used to safeguard the right of members to vote in elections, to prevent repetition of voting, to secure the faithful accounting and report of canvassers or inspectors of election, and their faithful and accurate returns to some central point;

The opportunity of the rank and file to ascertain the fitness of officers for the positions to which they aspire;

Whether voting is compulsory;

The cost of such election;

An expression of opinion as to the desirability or practicability of electing the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum.

A copy of the circular letter and a copy of the blank containing the questions are in the hands of the Executive Council and may be consulted by any committee or delegate to this convention.

It required much correspondence and great painstaking work to tabulate and classify the replies which have been received. We have a tabulated statement, but for clearer comprehension we submit the following condensed statement from reports of the officers of American international unions and organizations of several other countries, which show the methods and manner in which the officers of these organizations are elected, and the expression of opinion in regard to the entire subject matter:

Affiliated Organizations

ASBESTOS WORKERS—Officers are selected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Doubtful as to practicability of use of referendum system in A. F. of L.

BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, $500, 50 to 75 per cent of membership voting. Voting is compulsory. Believes that the growing sentiment prevailing among the American people for the introduction of the initiative and referendum in matters pertaining to the State absolutely requires its introduction in the American Federation of Labor. As to whether it can be practicable within the American Federation of Labor must be left to a fair trial. However, its practical operation requires a more uniform method in referendum and election in all of the affiliated organizations of the A. F. of L. Introduction of the initiative and referendum in the A. F. of L. would either force such uniform methods or would prove itself impracticable so far as the A. F. of L. is concerned.

BARBERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, five years. Laws enacted by convention. Understands that those organizations that have initiative and referendum systems have them in name only, as is best attested to by the percentage of members who vote when referendum vote is taken. Information received in past shows that great percentage of votes was cast thorugh the influence of some member and was not the clear expression of thought of each individual member. The initiative and referendum as put in practice in the present day is only a misnomer.

BILL POSTERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

BLACKSMITHS—Officers elected by convention; term of office two years. Laws enacted by convention. There are two sides to the referendum. It can be a benefit to a labor organization or it can be a detriment, and unless it is properly safeguarded it can be used to thwart the very purpose for which the referendum is intended. Suggest that if a referendum is adopted a percentage vote should prevail and that 66 per cent should be the basis.

BOILER MAKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, printing and mailing charges. Never had 50 per cent of membership voting; voting is not compulsory. It is an utter impossibility to elect officers in the A. F. of L. by a referendum system.

BOOKBINDERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum; 5 to 13 per cent of membership voting. To use referendum vote for election of officers of A. F. of L. was considered at a meeting of the General Executive Board of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, held in Boston, June 24 to 29, 1912, and the General Secretary-Treasurer was directed to notify the American Federation of Labor that the General Board was not in a position to give an expression of the entire membership, which could only be secured at a convention of the union, but in the opinion of the board, as viewed from the standpoint of experience of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and realizing the difficulties that would be encountered in the American Federation of Labor because many of the organizations have no machinery or method by which a proper vote could be taken, the plan to elect officers in the American Federation of Labor by referendum system would appear to be impracticable. Prior to June, 1909, while the initiative and referendum system of election was in vogue, the percentage of membership voting in the elections averaged from 5 to 13 per cent.

BREWERY WORKMEN—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, $250; 75 per cent of membership voting. Voting is compulsory. In our opinion election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum is equally as practicable as in our own organization.

BRICK, TILE, AND TERRA COTTA WORKERS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, $40. About 70 per cent of membership voting. Voting is not compulsory. If the initiative and referendum form of vote is adopted the A. F. of L. would have to make clear what constitutes legal voter, good standing, &c. International laws on this question differ and might cause confusion.

BRIDGE AND SRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by referendum. Does not approve of election of office of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

BROOM AND WHISK MAKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

BRUSHMAKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

CARPENTERS AND JOINERS—Officers nominated in convention and elected by referendum vote; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, $24,000. About 1-4 per cent of membership voting. Voting is not compulsory. Election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would not be practicable for many reasons, chiefly because of the enormous expense that would be entailed. Under the present method of electing the officers the candidates as a general rule are well known to a majority of the delegates, or at least the delegates know something of their qualifications, and when an organization has confidence enough in a man to send him as a delegate to the conventions of the A. F. of L., they have sufficient confidence in him to believe that he will cast his vote for the man best suited for the office.

CARRIAGE AND WAGON WORKERS—Executive Board and Board of Trustees chosen from the locals in the city where headquarters are located by votes of members of these locals; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. The election of officers of the A. F. of L. could be successfully put in practice, as in the inauguration of every new system there have to be amendments from time to time to meet the requirements and to protect such a system. There is a chance with a system of referendum to arouse an extra amount of interest among the workers, which would naturally result in the betterment of the movement.

CARVERS, WOOD—Branches are nominated and a branch is chosen by referendum of the members, then officers are elected by members of the branch chosen; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. In favor of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

CEMENT WORKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Do not use the initiative and referendum system, have had no experience, nor has the necessary consideration been given to it to submit any opinion.

CIGARMAKERS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, five years. Laws enacted by convention, initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, $2,000; 79 per cent of membership voting; 50 cents fine per member not voting. An organization, such as the A. F. of L., to be successful should be properly officered. The selection of officers should never be trusted to any haphazard, go-as-you-please system. A great many of the members have seen only a few of the officers of the A. F. of L., and the great mass don't see any of those who might aspire to and might be most capable of properly officering the A. F. of L., and after all, the A. F. of L., having granted strict autonomy to each constituent or affiliated union, the officers of the A. F. of L. have not, do not, and cannot interfere with the economic, shop, or craft conditions of affiliating unions, and for that reason there is no necessity, or right, even if it were practicable for the rank and file to participate in the election of officers of the A. F. of L. If the National and International Unions were subordinate to and gave the right to the A. F. of L. officers to interfere in organic affairs, trade disputes and other matters, there might be some justification in their claims to vote for such officers. While I believe in self-government, I believe the delegates to the A. F. of L. by virtue of the fact that they go to the conventions, see the other delegates, hear the reports read, hear the debates, and see the votes, are best qualified to select the proper officers.

CLERKS, RETAIL—Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

CLOTH HAT AND CAP MAKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

COMMERCIAL TELEGRAPHERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention, initiative and referendum. Average of 30 per cent of membership voting. Inasmuch as the A. F. of L. is a delegate body with limited powers and the tendency of the Federation is against the centralization of power, any proposition to establish the initiative and referendum for the election of officers must be preceded by a policy of centralization. To this we are opposed. We are in favor of the initiative and referendum and would like to see it in general use. We have repeatedly extended the practice to subordinate unions of this organization where possible during the last ten years, and are doing so whenever the opportunity permits. During all this time, the highest percentage of votes cast by those affected did not reach 60 per cent; the average is below 30 per cent, which is not convincing proof of its advantages. And this is upon questions in which the members are vitally interested. Now, it has been our experience to find many international officers of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. who do not understand that the Federation is not a sovereign body, but a delegate body. I venture the assertion that this ignorance reaches very large proportions among the rank and file of the labor movement. (Needless to say that the nonunionist, including many news writers, are densely ignorant on this subject.) Under these circumstances it is hard to imagine how the I., R. & R. could be put into effect in the A. F. of L. without destroying it as a delegate body and making it a sovereign organization and ruin it.

COMPRESSED AIR WORKERS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

COOPERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum could not be succesfully inaugurated.

CUTTING DIE MAKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

DIAMOND WORKERS—Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum; 85 to 90 per cent of membership voting. Voting is not compulsory. Has not been affiliated long enough with A. F. of L. to form any opinion in regard to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. Think the election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum is impracticable. One reason, on account of it being composed of Internationals who in turn send delegates to central bodies and State federations, therefore central bodies and State federations would be deprived of vote on account of delegates having right to vote in their local unions.

ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Do not consider the proposition of electing officers of the A. F. of L. by referendum vote to be practicable or possible in any degree.

ENGINEERS, STEAM—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

ENGRAVERS, WATCH CASE—Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, $1.50; 85 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. Election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum is a very practicable method and should have been in force a number of years, as it is the best argument we could put up for the initiative and referendum and recall of State officers, national officers, and the judiciary.

FIREMEN, STATIONARY—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. We have had the matter of initiative and referendum brought up by some of our delegates at each one of our conventions, and so far each convention has decided against it.

FOUNDRY EMPLOYES—Officers elected by convention; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by convention. Opposed to the system of electing officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

FREIGHT HANDLERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. The use of the initiative and referendum in our organization in electing officers of the A. F. of L. would be unwise. Many of our members are not at all acquainted with or even have not possibly ever seen the name of many very worthy men in the labor movement who might aspire to be and would fill the position creditably of officers of the A. F. of L. The delegate system, we believe, as far as our organization is concerned, is preferable to the initiative and referendum system, as the men we send to conventions of the A. F. of L. are more in touch with the labor movement than the average member of our organization usually is and can have a better idea of the fitness of men aspiring for office in the Federation than if left to the rank and file.

GARMENT WORKERS, UNITED—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Less than 1-3 of membership voting. Opposed to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum. The men best fitted to make laws and elect officers for any international organization are the men who act as delegates to convention. They are usually the workers and know what is best for the organization.

GARMENT WORKERS, LADIES—Officers elected by convetnation; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. The election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum is not practicable and not desirable, for the following reasons: The difficulty in getting an honest counting of the votes. The smaller organizations have no chance of having their wishes and desires attended to, as they are swamped by the large vote of the larger locals. The difficulty of changing officers is very great, since the new men are unknown outside of their locality, while the old officers can retain their position through their influenec. It is absurd for people to vote for officers whom they have never seen and know absolutely very little about.

GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Our association believes that the same policy should be continued in electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor as has been the custom in the past.

GLASS WORKERS, AMALGAMATED—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

GLOVE WORKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Believes that a practical system of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum can be established the same as it has been established by other large organizations.

GRANITE CUTTERS—President elected by initiative and referendum; other executive council members elected by branches where headquarters are located; term of office, president, four years; members executive council, one year; 50 per cent of membership voting; 25 cents fine for not voting. The failure or shortcoming of the initiative and referendum in the election of officers is that popular men are supported for election, irrespective of their ability to perform their duty. In the initiative and referendum in municipal, State, or national elections voters have generally coequal knowledge of the personnel, ability, and adaptability of candidates for election. This knowledge is reduced in national or international elections of officers of trade or labor associations, because members of a branch or local, far remote from the locality where a candidate may live, have less opportunity of knowing the personnel, ability, or adaptability of candidates for election. They may know of them if they have a trade journal, and the candidates have been frequent writers therein, but otherwise they have not the same opportunity of knowing their status as if the election were discussed in the daily press every day for months before election, and where the private and public life of nominees is laid bare with the virtue of giving nominees and their friends daily opportunity to reply. The utility of the first named idea would be further reduced in election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum. If there were quite a number of nominations for each office, each affiliated association might or might not name a well known officer of its own organization who might be well known to the membership of that organization, but to another organization might be almost unknown, especially as to his ability to deal with detailed as well as general questions of the great labor movement. If nominating and electing A. F. of L. officers were to be by wide open initiative and referendum, any affiliated organization might have from one to fifty nominees for each office. This would be cause for a qualification that one affiliated organization should be limited to one or two nominees for each office, and should in the first place decide in that association who its limit of nominees would be; or it would require perpetual motion in election of officers, for if a majority vote were essential, it would take too long to elect, and if a majority vote were not required a man might be elected who only represented a small minority. Then again, what would a Tampa cigarmaker, for instance, know about a building tradesman in Vancouver; or what would a shingle weaver in the Northwest know about a metal tradesman in New England?

GRINDERS, POCKET KNIFE BLADE—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by executive board and convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

HATTERS, UNITED—Officers elected by convention; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by board of directors and referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

HOD CARRIERS AND COMMON LABORERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, five years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Voting is not compulsory. Doubts practicability of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum. Reports would not be complete, or rather only a part of the membership would return votes.

HORSE SHOERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Does not approve of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYES—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Voting is not compulsory. The introduction of the election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would entail an expense entirely unwarranted. There is no demand on the part of our members to engraft such a method on the A. F. of L. We do not elect our own officers by referendum, and probably never will. Our experience with what we call referendum voting has been rotten. We have used every known device except penalizing our members to secure a fair measure of action and votes, but we have failed miserably.

IRON AND STEEL WORKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. The last convention of the Association instructed its representatives to favor the initiative and referendum in the election of officers of the A. F. of L. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers having adopted the initiative and referendum at their last convention, held in Chicago, Ill., May, 1912, and the same never having been put into operation, it is impossible to give an opinion as to its workers in the organization.

JEWELRY WORKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

LACE OPERATIVES—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

LATHERS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system in election of officers in 1911, $487.65; about 1-3 of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. It would not be practicable to undertake to elect officials of the A. F. of L. through the referendum. If the officers of the A. F. of L. were to be elected through the referendum, the election of all organizations should be held on the same date, or there should not be more than a week's leeway in which the different organizations could register their votes. Under a referendum the A. F. of L. would have no means of knowing who of those that cast ballots were eligible for that purpose; it would be dependent absolutely upon the fairness of the national organization as well as the local officers of every local union from which votes are sent in, and it is our experience that locals will take a chance of having votes get by and allow men to vote who have absolutely no right to cast a vote. There is no demand or sentiment calling for the election of A. F. of L. officers through the medium of a referendum, at least I have never heard of any such expressions from the men with whom I have associated in recent years.

LAUNDRY WORKERS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, $100; 75 per cent of the membership voting. Making voting compulsory is left to locals. A well attended convention is the proper place to elect officers, but in case an organization cannot hold a representative convention the referendum is preferable.

LEATHER WORKERS ON HORSE GOODS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention; 30 per cent of membership voting. Voting is not compulsory. Do not believe it possible for our members to intelligently determine the fitness or to acquire a general knowledge relative to the qualifications, habits of the numerous candidates for office, if the initiative and referendum were adopted in the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. We do not wish to be understood as casting any reflection upon the intelligence of the members, but we cannot conceive of any effective means whereby this defect could be overcome.

LEATHER WORKERS, AMALGAMATED — Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. If the system of election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum was inaugurated by the A. F. of L. it would increase the work of the secretary to a considerable extent. It would be necessary for all candidates aspiring to office to have their names sent to the executive board or to the secretary, at least four months previous to the convention, in order to have their names printed on the ballot, have those forwarded to each local, and have them returned to the secretary before the convention. I believe this matter should be left to the decision of the executive board. I believe that the delegates who attend your convention have always used their best judgment in selecting its officers, as has undoubtedly been proven.

LITHOGRAPHERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by referendum; 60 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

LITHOGRAPHIC PRESS FEEDERS—No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

LONGSHOREMEN—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Do not believe it possible to procure a representative expression by a referendum system in the A. F. of L.

MACHINE PRINTERS AND COLOR MIXERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Should it become necessary to put in practice the initiative and referendum vote in the ranks of the A. F. of L. officers, it could be granted to such affiliated bodies as are in good standing, for all of those members to vote a ballot for any candidate the voter thought a proper and fit party for such office, the votes having the seal of local union attached.

MACHINISTS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, $1,050. Nearly 50 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. Favorable to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYES—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Do not believe election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would be practicable to obtain a result within a reasonable time owing to the fact that our people are continuously on the move and we are unable to communicate directly with many of them without considerable delay.

MARBLE WORKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Think election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum could be arranged for if necessary, but would not get full vote.

MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN—Officers elected by convention; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Voting not compulsory. Thinks it is absolutely impossible to get a fair expression. Our experience wth the initiative and referendum in legislative matters has been that less than 30 per cent of our membership will vote. The attempt to elect the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum would prove an absolute failure. While the more highly skilled crafts may have a system whereby they can operate the initiative and referendum successfully, those like the Butcher Workmen, which is composed of 90 per cent common labor, and a large proportion of those made up of foreigners entirely ignorant of these methods, makes it absolutely impossible to have a successful initiative and referendum. On the propositions that have been sent out from the general office to be voted on by the membership, not 30 per cent of the membership voted; in fact, only about 40 per cent of the local paid any attention to them at all; hence the present system of the election of officers of the A. F. of L. is far preferable to attempting the initiative and referendum.

METAL POLISHERS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, $500; 70 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

METAL WORKERS, SHEET—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Deems plan of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum altogether impracticable. Delegates in convention are surely in better position to judge as to man's fitness than is an individual member whose acquaintance and vision is limited to his own organization.

MINE WORKERS, UNITED—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, $5,362.36; 60 per cent of membership voting. Voting compulsory in some districts. Our conventions have pledged its membership to the principle of the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum.

MINERS, WESTERN FEDERATION—Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, $256.42. Voting not compulsory. Believes the election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would be practicable, although is of the opinion that better results would be obtained by nomination being made by convention and those receiving the two highest number of votes to be considered as candidates.

MOLDERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by convention. Opposed to election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

MUSICIANS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum impracticable. Who would pay the expenses and work out the details for holding such a referendum? What is to prevent a few officers casting the entire vote of the organization, as is often done now in local referendum? How would unwilling members be compelled to vote?

PAINTERS—Officers elected by convention when held, and by referendum otherwise; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, $5,000. Voting not compulsory. Election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum regarded as entirely practicable. The trade union movement stands first, last, and all the time for democracy, the right of the membership to rule. Every objection that can be raised against the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the initiative and referendum can be raised against the election of city, State, and national officers of our Legislators and Congressmen by popular vote and can be advanced against the principles of the initiative and referendum in political affairs as advocated in the platform of the American Federation of Labor and as subscribed to by the rank and file of the trade union movement.

PAPER MAKERS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, indefinite. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. It would be possible to make it a practical system in the A. F. of L. if all organizations adopt referendum for electing their own officers.

PATTERN MAKERS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, $100. Opposed to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum; would not be practicable.

PAVERS AND RAMMERMEN—Officers elected by initiative and referendum; term of office, secretary, two years; directors, one year. Laws enacted by convention; 33 per cent of membership coting. Voting is not compulsory. Opposed to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

PAVING CUTTERS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by referendum. The election of officials of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum would not be practicable. The rank and file of our members do not know nor would have any means of knowing the personality or qualifications of those who would naturally be called upon to serve in those important offices. Such a system would ultimately lead the labor movement into politics and turn it into a political organization.

PHOTO-ENGRAVERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

PIANO AND ORGAN WORKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Opposed to election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

PLASTERERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

PLATE PRINTERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Do not use the initiative and referendum system in their organization. Because of the complex nature of the American Federation of Labor as organized, do not see the wisdom of applying the referendum in the election of officers. The rank and file is too far removed to have the requisite knowledge of the personality of the officers to be as well equipped as a delegate who has attended one or more conventions in estimating the fitness of the man for the office. The organization favors the present method of electing the officers of the A. F. of L.

PLUMBERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. The system of initiative and referendum is impracticable and consequently not expected to give best results in their organization. They have no method for such a system of election and would be compelled to create some system which would meet the requirements, although it would be a most rifficult task to undertake.

POST-OFFICE CLERKS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. The election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum will stimulate the interest of the rank and file in the labor movement and such system will be practicable in every way.

POTTERS, OPERATIVE—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, $137.65; 38 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The scucess of election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would depend on interest aroused to get out vote.

POWDER AND HIGH EXPLOSIVE WORKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. When an organization has membership enough so that the cost of per capita is not too great the initiative and referendum is the most practical way of electing officers.

PRINT CUTTERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system. The rank and file of the members could not be induced to give the matter serious enough consideration to get out an intelligent vote; only members attending meetings should be entitled to vote on any subject, as the stay-at-homes do not seem to care, and in fact are generally the forced kind of union members.

PRINTING PRESSMEN—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, $30; 33 1-3 per cent of membership voting. Making voting compulsory is left to locals. Would not deem it advisable to elect officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

PULP, SULPHITE AND PAPER MILL WORKERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

QUARRY WORKERS—Officers elected by branches where seat of government is located; term of office, international president and committee, one year; international secretary-treasurer, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, $8.00. Voting not compulsory. Election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum can be done and prove satisfactory. Would favor the A. F. of L. furnishing individual ballots to to each international or local affiliated; proper officers or committees of said bodies to canvass vote, seal and preserve same, and forward proper certified returns to the Secretary of the A. F. of L., he to tabulate same and hold them in readiness for canvassing committee; result to be made known at following convention. Would favor having each candidate furnish an itemized account of all money expended in furthering his election or nomination, either by himself or friends with his knowledge, and any member spending or allowing to be spent on his behalf more than $40.00, he shall be disqualified for office for a term of three years.

RAILROAD TELEGRAPHERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system; the system is not practical in the election of the officers of the A. F. of L.

RAILWAY CARMEN—Officers elected by convention; terms of office, from one convention to the next. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Voting not compulsory. Does not use referendum system for election of officers. Our delegates at the last convention discussed the question of electing officers by the initiative and referendum, but the proposition to elect officers in this manner was defeated, the delegates being of the opinion that it would be better to elect them at each convention, as they considered that they could get together and become personally acquainted with the men they desired to elect to office. So while the initiative and referendum was adopted for the making of laws, &c., the election of officers was left for each convention.

RAILWAY CLERKS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum and convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

RAILWAY EMPLOYES, STREET AND ELECTRIC—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system. Have no means or machinery for carrying on referendum vote, and could not get a vote of their organization to elect A. F. of L. officers. Many of the international organizations have no arrangement for this election and the result would be that only a few organizations would vote upon this subject. Hundreds of local divisions would take no interest in the matter, and it is not practical or possible under the present arrangements and policies that are carried out by the different international unions that go to make up the A. F. of L.

RAILWAY EXPRESS MESSENGERS—No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

ROOFERS, COMPOSITION—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system. It would not be practicable in the A. F. of L. There would be far too many candidates for the offices and this would cause a great deal of confusion.

SAW SMITHS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

SEAMEN—International officers elected by convention, district officers by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention, initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, $500 to a district; 25 per cent of membership voting in district. Election of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum would be successful if international unions would have a uniform system of election.

SHINGLE WEAVERS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, $35.00; 40 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The establishment of the initiative and referendum in the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. would result in getting a very small percentage of the membership to participate in the election at the outset, but the educational possibilities in the direction of self-government would be incalculable, and in the end would be to the decided advantage of the labor movement. The belief that a representative of the people can make a wiser choice of officers than the people as a whole is sophistry of the idlest sort. What applies in this case to the people would apply with even more force to the members of labor organizations, because the latter have a larger percentage of intelligent units.

SLATE AND TILE ROOFERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the initiative and referendum system. Resolution adopted by convention in favor of election of officers of the A. F. of L. referendum vote.

SLATE WORKERS—Officers elected by branches. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

SPINNERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. It would not be possible to get a representative vote from all of the unions under the present system of organization. A large number of the union men would not be interested enough to vote, and a large number of the international unions have no system for referendum or initiative action. The present system of election is the best because the men who choose the officers are the best known men in the labor movement, being picked out by the different organizations to represent them, because of their ability and interest in the labor movement, in most cases being officers of their respective national organizations; they are better able to pick the right men for officers than the few that might vote under the referendum, who would know nothing about the caliber of the men who might be up for election.

STAGE EMPLOYES, THEATRICAL—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Election of officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum absolutely impossible and impracticable.

STEEL PLATE TRANSFERRERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. Does not use the initiative and referendum system. It is not practicable for the officers of the A. F. of L. to be elected by initiative and referendum. Organizations like the United Mine Workers would be too powerful, while the technical branches outside of the carpenters would be subject to the dictates of the organizations of "calling" in so far as the election or naming the officers of the American Federation of Labor. As it is now, the strong and able men are sent as delegates and they, in their wisdom, will as heretofore select earnest, capable officers. While all workers mean well with their vote, they are hardly educated up to the standard of using it without sentiment.

STEREOTYPERS AND ELECTROTYPERS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, $100; 82 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum can be accomplished without much trouble.

STONE CUTTERS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, $350; 65 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The initiative and referendum system could be satisfactorily used in the A. F. of L.

STOVE MOUNTERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. It would be practicable to elect the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

SWITCHMEN—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. It would not be practicable. It would be a large expense on the organizations offiliated to elect the A. F. of L. officers by the initiative and referendum, and it would perhaps require several elections to give the candidates a majority vote to save the expense of several elections that would be necessary to elect by a plurality vote instead of majority.

TAILORS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, four years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, $35; 85 per cent of membership voting. Voting is compulsory. The election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum is practicable in every way, and officers should be elected for two years or more.

TEAMSTERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

TEXTILE WORKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. This organization does not use the referendum system. For an organization like the A. F. of L., whose representatives meet in convention once a year, and whose membership is scattered over the entire United States and Canada, the present way of electing officers is preferable.

TILE LAYERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum, 25 per cent of membership voting. The election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum could be successfully inaugurated if the referendum vote is taken with the individual members and not local organizations, as a few so-called leading members most always determine the vote when taken through a local organization, the individual members seldom, if eovr, have the right to use their own minds on the subjects submitted through the referendum.

TIN PLATE WORKERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. Whereas the rank and file bear all expense, why not have a voice in election of its officers?

TIP PRINTERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

TOBACCO WORKERS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, five years. Laws enacted by referendum and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, $500 to $800; 96 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The practicability of the method of initiative and referendum is open to serious question, and in addition an added expense will be imposed upon the various international unions. The introduction and use of the initiative and referendum in the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor would not be feasible at this time, and in the present state and extent of the organization of the workers much confusion and expense would result. Let us rather devote attention to the organization and education of the workers along economic and political lines; this proposition is too far ahead of the day. Many international unions have not adopted the initiative and referendum in their unions, and with this method adopted for the American Federation of Labor there international unions would have to change their laws to fit the situation, and more than all, they would have to educate their members up to perfect points of the new method. In the interim, chaos would reign. A more seasonable time in the future is coming; the harvest is not yet ripe. Postponement seems now properly in order.

TRAVELERS' GOODS AND LEATHER NOVELTY WORKERS—Officers elected by convention or referendum when convention is not held; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by referendum, 95 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The election of officers by the initiative and referendum would bring more satisfaction than the present way.

TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS—Matter taken up by referendum vote and are opposed to the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by referendum, inasmuch as the most capable men could not be secured in that way. It has been demonstrated in our organization; a man can go among the rank and file of the organization and make promises that he never intends to fulfill, thereby gaining their friendship and support. The agitation he has started in claiming that the present officers are not doing their duty and he could gain a great deal more for them if he was in power, has been proven to be a detriment to the organization, and it also creates dissension with the employers whom the organization has dealt with for years.

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention and referendum, four-fifths of membership voting. No report on attitude toward election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

UPHOLSTERERS—Officers elected by convention or referendum if another convention is not held within two years; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. Cost of referendum system to organization, 1-3 of a cent per member; 60 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. The practicability of electing the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum would depend upon the time allowed for voting after the time set for closing nominations. If at least three months were allowed in order to permit the membership at large to get acquainted with the record and reputation of the nominees for the different offices, it would be quite feasible to nominate and elect by popular vote. This form of electing officers will create more interest among the membership at large in the affairs of the A. F. of L. They will better understand the aims and objects of the body. The men whose interests the officers of the A. F. of L. represent are well qualified to select who shall be their representatives. The referendum form of voting permits the individual members of affiliated unions to select the candidate who in his opinion is best qualified to fill the office.

WEAVERS, ELASTIC GORING—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by branches and convention. Cost of referendum system to organization, printing, and postage; 50 per cent of membership voting. Voting not compulsory. Initiative and referendum works good with us because we are a small organization but could not express an opinion as to how it would work with the A. F. of L.

WEAVERS, WIRE—Officers elected by convention; term of office, president, one year; secretary, two years. Laws enacted by initiative and referendum if considered advisable. Do not favor election of A. F. of L. officers by initiative and referendum. Too expensive and not at all practicable for so large an organization.

WHITE RATS ACTORS—Officers elected by referendum; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by referendum. It is the opinion of the officers of this organization, also the delegates from our organization who have attended the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, that the method in vogue in electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor is the only manner in which said election should be conducted. The reason for making this statement is that although the initiative and referendum is satisfactory to this organization, we believe that the conditions which prevail in the American Federation of Labor are exactly the reverse of those of this organization, as we are composed of actors who of necessity must travel all the while, and therefore are different from every other craft in the labor movement.

Unaffiliated Organizations.

BRICKLAYERS AND MASONS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, one year. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN AND ENGINEMEN—Officers elected by convention; term of office, three years. Laws enacted by convention. Doubts the advisability of the referendum system in the election of international officers, because few of the members called upon to vote, would have any knowledge of the relative ability or merits of the candidates. Under the present method each lodge sends a representative to the convention, which representative sits for nearly three weeks assisting in the transaction of the organization's business, and at the end of that time he should be in position to cast a vote, as representative of the members of his lodge, for each international officer with a much higher degree of intelligence.

LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, six years. Laws enacted by convention. Has never established the initiative and referendum system either in election of officers or in legislative matters. No report on attitude toward election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

RAILROAD TRAINMEN—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

RAILWAY CONDUCTORS—Officers elected by convention; term of office, two years. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

European Organizations

Great Britain.

BAKERS AND CONFECTIONERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. In the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland there is very little interest taken by the workers generally in the initiative and referendum system of voting among the workers. Some of the trades unions adopt what is practically a second ballot in the election of their principal officers in which a candidate does not obtain a majority over all other candidates, but we have never yet done so.

BOOT AND SHOE OPERATIVES—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

BRASSWORKERS AND METAL MECHANICS—Officials elected by annual conference except for national executive, which is by referendum. The only ballot taken in this society is for national executive, and the methods are as follows: Nominations are received from branches in the different districts, Northern, Midland, and South and West. Ballot papers are then printed, sent to all branches in each division, and every member connected with that division records his votes on the ballot paper, seals the paper at the corners and hands same to the branch secretary, who forwards all the ballot papers to the central office, where the votes are counted by scrutineers, who receive a nominal fee for their duties. The names of the successful candidates according to the number required are published to the whole of the society through the various branches. All the officers, except the general secretary, are members working at their trade.

ENGINEERS—Officers elected by referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

ENGINEERING AND SHIPBUILDING TRADES—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

PATTERNMAKERS—General secretary elected by referendum. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

PRINTERS, WAREHOUSEMEN, AND CUTTERS—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by convention. It is undesirable to compel members to vote. If they do not take sufficient interest in the union to vote without compulsion on any question, then you can take it their votes will not be cast for the benefit of the union, and on some critical question they will let you down.

SMITHS AND HAMMERMEN—General secretary elected by referendum. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. Our rules are altered on the initiative of members in branches and if not frivolous they are referred to the whole membership to vote on, which the majority religiously neglect to do. Election by initiative and referendum simply a frost. The members won't vote for an advance of their own wages, so they won't bother about elections. I admire the Swiss attempt at initiative and referendum, but of course it is a failure. The idea is excellent, but the practice is slow, cumbrous, and unwieldy. The assembled intellects in conventions must know best who is fittest, while members outside know only the candidate's name and frequently only a part of that.

STOVE, GRATE, FENDER AND GENERAL LIGHT METAL WORKERS—Officers elected by referendum. Our organization is only a small one, totaling 1,800 members, and any points we could attempt to give would be of little or no value where such big unions are concerned.

RAILWAY WAGON AND CARRIAGE BUILDERS AND LIFTERS—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

Germany.

BAKERS AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS—Officers elected by convention. Have had no experience in elections by initiative and referendum.

BOOKBINDERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. We refrain from giving an opinion as we are not well enough acquainted with American conditions.

BUILDING LABORERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. We are of the opinion that the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by initiative and referendum is not to be recommended. The carrying out of such an election system is so very impracticable that in the end the desired result cannot be attained under any circumstances. Most of the candidates of the A. F. of L. elected by referendum vote are either entirely or practically unknown to most of the active members of the various organizations, and is it not unwise to bring up for election candidates with whom the electors are not sufficiently well acquainted? On the other hand, an election by representatives of local organizations who meet at a designated place for the purpose of voting is much more practical and wise, and is in keeping with the democratic principles—and as a sister principle of the democratic principle, having sufficient knowledge of the candidates, whether they should vote for or against them, is much more preferable than an election by initiative and referendum.

COOPERS AND HELPERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. We cannot recommend any definite election system as we are not in a position to know whether the election of the officers of the German organizations by the delegates to the convention, which has proved very successful here in Germany, is also to be recommended for the American organizations.

CARPENTERS—Officials of central committee elected by convention and district leaders appointed by central committee. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

COPPERSMITHS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by referendum. Do not care to give an opinion, as we do not understand the exact workings of the A. F. of L. unions.

FURRIERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

GLASS WORKERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. We consider an election for the officers of the centrals by the centrals as sufficient.

GLAZIERS, PLATE LEAD FRAME GLAZIERS AND GLASS PAINTERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

HAIR DRESSERS, BARBERS, AND WIG MAKERS—Officers elected by cnovention. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

HAT AND FELT GOODS WORKERS—Officers elected by convention. Referendum tried but abandoned 12 years ago. Laws enacted by convention. Having abandoned electing of the full paid officials by all members we are not able to offer any proposals with regard to election by referendum. Only officials, sub-officially attending to their union affairs in the pay stations are elected directly by the members using vote tickets. This system has proved to be satisfactory because our pay stations are not so very large, the largest one counts only 3,500 members.

LEATHER WORKERS, GLOVE MAKERS TAN AND CHROME TANNERS, &C.—Officers elected by convention. Officials of the central committee are elected by conventions. The district leaders are elected by the central committee and the local officials by members of the respective unions with a right of veto by the central committee. Laws enacted by convention. The system of direct election of the officials of the Federation by all members of the trades is not to be recommended. On occasion of election of the officials this system has not proven satisfactory in a single organization in Germany. A great many factors are to the disadvantage of the direct election by the members. First, only a certain number of the members participate in the election. In different places in many cases the best and most active members are prevented from voting. Also, it has to be considered that most of the members are lacking in knowledge of the abilities of the officials to be elected. A braggart, but a person of only a little practical knowledge and ability, has sometimes more chances to be elected than a quiet but otherwise very able colleague. There exists also the danger that this system is furthering the dependency of the officials upon the tempers of the members. Conditions often demand officials of trade associations to legislate against the will of the bulk, and this could result in disagreeable consequences at the election by the members. To delegates assembled, the necessity of such actions is easier explained than to the great bulk of the members. The system of the election of the officials by all the members is only seemingly democratic, otherwise it contains the defects and faults of the democratic system to the fullest extent.

LITHOGRAPHERS, ENGRAVERS AND ALLIED TRADES—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Consider election by initiative and referendum superfluous.

MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

MINERS—General Committee (7 members) elected by convention, rest of officials by General Committee. Important resolutions of the general meeting are subjected to voting if so desired. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

PAINTERS, VARNISHERS, PLASTERERS AND WHITE WASHERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. Consider it inexpedient for A. F. of L. to elect officers by initiative and referendum.

PRINTING AND ENGRAVING HELPERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Have had no experience with initiative and referendum.

ROOFERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Up to present time election of officers has always been by convention; system more simple than by referendum.

SADDLER AND PORTFOLIO MAKERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

STONE SETTERS AND ALLIED WORKERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

TEXTILE WORKERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Cannot recommend what would be advisable for American Federation of Labor.

TOBACCO WORKERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. The initiative and referendum system is too difficult.

DISTRICT AND STATE EMPLOYES—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention and referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

METAL WORKERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

France

FURNITURE WORKERS—Each district or branch of which there are 79 has one representative, of which 79 constitute the Federal Council. In any vacancy the branch elects another representative who is usually accepted by the General Council. Laws enacted by convention. Cannot answer questions as principle of initiative and referendum has never been put in practice by our organization.

Switzerland

METAL WORKERS—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

STONE AND CLAY WORKERS—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by referendum. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

WATCHMAKERS—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by referendum. Impossible to give opinion as to A. F. of L.

Sweden

MASONS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

Norway

METAL WORKERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

TRAMWAY EMPLOYES—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. Initiative and referendum system unknown.

UNSKILLED LABORERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

Denmark

SEAGOING DECK WORKERS—Officers elected by convention. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendum.

ALLIED TRADES—Four officers elected by General Assembly, three nominated by Managing Committee. Laws enacted by convention. No report on attitude toward initiative and referendm.

Netherlands

DIAMOND WORKERS—Officers elected by referendum. Laws enacted by referendum. Knowing very little about internal working of A. F. of L. Cannot express an opinion on the subject of election of officers of A. F. of L. by initiative and referendum.

The tabulated statement founded upon the replies from the organizations which we have given, shows the following condensed table of results:

Number of national and international unions which elect by referendum system	34
Number of national and international unions which elect their officers by the convention system	75
Number of national and international unions favoring election of A. F. of L. officers by the initiative and referendum system (representing 508,116 members)	23
Number of national and international unions against election of A. F. of L. officers by the initiative and and referendum (representing 890,240 members)	52

A number of organizations representing 321,787 members have made no report or have expressed themselves as having no definite opinion upon the matter.

We should say also that some international unions which have the initiative and referendum system of electing their own officers have most emphatically declared that while that system is practical and successful within their own organization, it would be impossible for practical application for the American Federation of Labor.

Conclusion

We submit to your earnest, and we hope, favorable consideration, this report of our stewardship of the trust committed to our care.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President.
JAMES DUNCAN,
First Vice President.
JOHN MITCHELL,
Second Vice President.
JAMES O'DONNELL,
Tihrd Vice President.
D. A. HAYES,
Fourth Vice President.
WILLIAM D. HUBER,
Fifth Vice President.
JOS. A. VALENTINE,
Sixth Vice President.
JOHN R. ALPINE,
Seventh Vice President.
H. B. PERHAM,
Eighth Vice President.
JOHN B. LENNON,
Treasurer.
FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.
SAHUEL GOMPERS,

LABOR'S STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

Laboring men have been subjected to many strenuous prosecutions and bitter persecutions in the years gone by when making a collective effort to promote their own welfare and prosperity. The most oppressive enactments commenced in England in or about the year 1348, soon after the black plague. The black plague decimated the ranks of the laborers particularly; it has been estimated that 50 per cent of the laborers perished during that epidemic. This reduction in the supply of workers had the effect of practically doubling the rate of wages, and a statute was passed by Parliament prohibiting laborers from accepting higher wages than they had been receiving before the black plague. Another statute was passed going so far as to prescribe what the workers should eat and their clothing. That statute made it a penal offense for a laboring man to eat better food or wear better clothing than the prescribed limitations written in the statute.

Some 200 years later the English Parliament, in 1562, enacted a statute authorizing justices of the peace to fix the wages of laborers in England and make it a crime for laboring men to accept higher wages than those prescribed by the justice of the peace, and that statute remained in effect and was rigidly enforced for a period of 250 years; and it was not until the year 1815 that this rigorous and abhorrent statute was repealed, and only then because the justices of the peace were suspected of being too liberal toward the English workers.

In or about the year 1553 the English Parliament enacted a law making it an "infamous crime" for workingmen to meet for the purpose of discussing the wages they should expect or the hours per day that they would toil, and in 1796 a similar statute was re-enacted making it a crime for workingmen to assemble to discuss the hours of toil, the rates of wages, or any question bearing upon their industrial conditions. It was not until 1825 that this legal ban was removed from the workers of England, and even then the organizations that they had established were given no legal status; they had no standing in the courts of the nation. It is recorded that as late as 1869 an official of a labor organization who had embezzled the funds belonging to his organization was prosecuted for the alleged crime, but the court dismissed the action on the ground that "labor organizations were unknown to the law of England, and that the person committing the theft had not perpetrated a crime."

Prior to 1824 the law of England treated the workingmen who endeavored to secure an amelioration of their condition with great severity. Strikes of any magnitude or duration were almost impossible, as all attempts at organization for such a purpose were prevented, as far as it was possible, by the law against combination which was then in force. The great labor disputes which had taken place previous to that time, and, in fact, for years afterward, were spasmodic outbreaks of actual industrial revolts against innumerable grievances, instead of deliberate arrangements and skillfully organized systems for bringing about rational changes in existing industrial conditions.

The combination laws in operation from 1799 to the time of their repeal, in 1825, were extremely stringent in character. In fact, the preamble of the act of 1799 strikes the keynote of the industrial legislation of that period, in which it stated:

"Whereas great numbers of journeymen, manufacturers, and workmen in various parts of this kingdom have by unlawful meetings and combinations endeavored to obtain advance of their wages and to effectuate other illegal purposes, and the laws at present in force against such unlawful conduct have been found to be inadequate to the suppression thereof, whereby it has become necessary that more effectual provision should be made against such unlawful combinations and for preventing such unlawful practices in the future and for bringing such offenders to more speedy and exemplary justice."

The act went further, and declared null and void all agreements "between journeymen, manufacturers, or workmen for obtaining an advance of wages, or for lessening their hours of labor, and for various other stated purposes." Even the act of 1825 held that it was "unlawful for persons to meet for the purpose of consulting upon and determining the rate of wages or prices which the persons present at such meeting should demand for their work."

Unions Declared Unlawful.

The interpretation of the law was left to the courts, and the judges promptly declared labor combinations to be unlawful at common law, on the ground "that they were in restraint of trade." These decisions led to further and continued agitation on the part of the workmen, and in 1859 a law was enacted providing that workmen should not be held guilty of "molestation" or "obstruction" under the act of 1825, simply because they entered into agreements to fix the rate of wages or the hours of labor, or to endeavor peaceably to persuade others to cease or abstain from work to produce the same results. Again, the interpretation of this law by the courts was unsatisfactory to its creators, and in 1867 a royal commission was appointed to inquire into and report upon the subject to Parliament. The result of this investigation brought forth two acts in 1871—(1) the trade union act; (2) the criminal law amendment act. The latter statute repealed the acts of 1825 and 1859. This new act made some stringent provisions against employers and against employes in order to prevent alleged coercion, violations, threats, &c. But there was no prohibition against doing or conspiring to do any act on the ground that it was in restraint of trade—unless it came within the scope of the enumerated prohibitions.

It was thought that by the passage of these two acts ordinary strikes would be considered legal, providing the prescribed limits were not exceeded. It was generally understood that if men undertook a strike they were not in danger of being prosecuted for criminal conspiracy. But in the following year Justice Brett held that "a threat of simultaneous breach of contract by men was conduct which the jury ought to regard as a conspiracy to prevent the company carrying on its business." The workmen were sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. This decision and the severity of the sentence caused a widespread agitation in the country and a great revulsion of feeling, so much so that it resulted in the appointment of another royal commission, which reported to Parliament further alterations in the law; and in 1875 the Home Secretary, Mr. R. A. Cross, introduced a bill in Parliament entitled "The Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act." The bill passed and was approved August 13, and is known as the "Trade Union Act of 1875." The former picket clauses of the act of 1871 were retained in the new law, but this important addition was incorporated in the act: "An agreement or combination of two or more persons to do, or to procure to be done, any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute between employers and workmen shall not be punishable as a conspiracy if such act as aforesaid, when committed by one person, would not be punishable as a crime." And in another section the definition of a trade union is thus defined: "The term 'trade union' means any combination, whether temporary or permanent, for regulating the relations between workmen and masters, or between workmen and workmen, or between masters and masters, or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business, whether such combinations would or would not, if the principal act had not been passed, have been deemed to have been an unlawful combination by reason of some one or more of its purposes being in restraint of trade." Generally speaking, this act gave the English workingmen a wider latitude. Quoting from one of the trade union reports, it says: "It has permitted us to do in combination what we are permitted to do as individuals, but which we were prohibited from doing in association before that law came into effect; it has more particularly established our rights; it has given us certain privileges and restrictions and at the same time has laid equal privileges and restrictions upon employers."

In an important test case, "Allen vs. Flood," on December 14, 1897, this act was sustained, and the British workmen believed that the code of industrial warfare was precisely defined so that they could carry on either defensive or offensive operations against employers without subjecting themselves to the penalties of the law.

Taff-Vale Case.

In June, 1900, the celebrated Taff-Vale Railway dispute took place, in which a railway company obtained a decision, with damages allowed in the sum of $119,842, for the alleged injury done to the railway company by the loss of their business and the extra expense involved arising out of "unlawful and malicious conspiracy of the defendants." This decision was rendered by Mr. Justice Farwell. An appeal was immediately taken to the Court of Appeals, which held that "there was no section in the acts of 1871 and 1876 empowering a trade union to sue or be sued, and that if the Legislature had intended to make that possible the Legislature well knew how, in plain terms, to bring about such a result;" and, further, the Court of Appeals ruled, in conclusion: "As there is no statute empowering this action to be brought against the union in its registered name, it is not maintainable against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and these defendants must, therefore, be struck out, the injunction against them must be dissolved, and the appeal, as regards these defendants, must be allowed, with costs here and below."

From this judgment of the Court of Appeals the Taff-Vale Railway Company appealed to the House of Lords, and in pronouncing the concluding opinion of that court the Lord Chancellor said: "In this case I am content to adopt the judgment of Justice Farwell, with which I entirely concur; and I cannot find any satisfactory answer to that judgment in the judgment of the Court of Appeals, which overruled it. If the Legislature has created a thing which can own property, which can employ servants, which can inflict injury, it must be taken, I think, to have impliedly given the power to make it suable in a court of law for injuries purposely done by its authority and procurement. The judgment of the Court of Appeals is reversed and that of Justice Farwell restored."

The decision was so startling that it was vigorously denounced as a scandalous illustration of "judge-made law" and "a perversion of the intent of Parliament by hostile judicial interpretation."

The British trade unionists immediately commenced a campaign to secure the amendment of the trade union acts, by which the Legislature should affirmatively and positively declare that the funds of trade unions were not liable for any act of a trade union that was not in itself criminal. The result being that in March, 1906, the government brought in a bill amending the "Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act" to meet the demands of labor. This bill was passed December 21, 1906, and is known as the "Trades Dispute Act." It is as follows:

British Trades Dispute Act.

"An act done in pursuance of an agreement or combination by two or more persons shall, if done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, not be actionable unless the act, if done without any such agreement or combination, would be actionable.

"It shall be lawful for one or more persons, acting on their own behalf, or on behalf of a trade union, or of an individual employer or firm, in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, if they so attend merely for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working.

"An act done by a person in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute shall not be actionable on the ground only that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment, or that it is an interference with the trade, business, or employment of some other person, or with the right of some other person to dispose of his capital or his labor as he wills.

"An action against a trade union, whether of workmen or masters, or against any member or officials thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the trade union in respect of any tortious act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the trade union, shall not be entertained by any court.

"Nothing in this section shall effect the liability of the trustees of a trade union to be sued in the events provided for by the trades union act, 1871, section 9, except in respect of any tortious act committed by or on behalf of the union in contemplation or in furtherance of a trade dispute."

Thus the working people of Great Britain secured their right to organize and to exercise their activities upon the economic field for their own and for the common protection.

It is unnecessary here to trace the struggle of the working people of the United States to attain the right to organize. It is sufficient to call attention to the fact that the courts have recently decided that under the Sherman anti-trust law individual members, as well as the entire organization of labor, may be mulcted in threefold damages which any employer or business man can show due to the activities of the workers by withholding their labor power or their patronage. In addition, they may be prosecuted and find $5,000 and imprisoned for one year. Relief from this decision and from the abuse of the injunctive writ is sought to be obtained in the bill before Congress introduced by the Hon. William B. Wilson, of Pennsylvania. This bill is, in effect, the British trades dispute act. Surely, what the monarchy of Great Britain has accorded to its workers should not be denied to the toilers of the republic of the United States. The bill is as follows:

The American Plan.

"A bill to regulate the issuance of restraining orders and injunctions and procedure thereon and to limit the meaning of 'conspiracy' in certain cases:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States, or a judge or the judges thereof, in any case between an employer and employe, or between employers and employes, or between employes, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, or involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law; and such property and such property right must be particularly described in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant or by his, her, or its agent or attorney. And for the purposes of this act no right to continue the relation of employer and employe, or to assume or create such relation with any particular person or persons, or at all, or to carry on business of any particular kind, or at any particular place, or at all, shall be construed, held, considered, or treated as property or as constituting a property right.

"Sec. 2. That in cases arising in the courts of the United States or coming before said courts, or before any judge or the judges thereof, no agreement between two or more persons concerning the terms or conditions of employment, or the assumption or creation or termination of any relation between employer and employe, or concerning any act or thing to be done or not to be done with reference to or involving or growing out of a labor dispute, shall constitute a conspiracy or other civil or criminal offense, or be punished or prosecuted, or damages recovered upon as such, unless the act or thing agreed to be done or not to be done would be unlawful if done by a single individual; nor shall the entering into or the carrying out of any such agreement be restrained or enjoined unless such act or thing agreed to be done would be subject to be restrained or enjoined under the provisions, limitations, and definitions contained in the first section of this act.

"Sec. 3. That all acts and parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed."

It is herewith suggested and recommended that all legislative committees in all States endeavor to secure the enactment of this bill by their State Legislatures at the earliest possible moment.

YES, HE'S CHLOROFORMED

President Gompers, in addressing the American Academy of Political and Social Science at Philadelphia, enlivened the proceedings by his strong indictment of the United States Steel Corporation. He said, in part: "To-day the United States Steel Corporation is practically safe from inconvenience from the organized labor movement. It has peace in its camps, but it is the sort of peace to which the Czar of Russia referred when he said, 'Peace reigns in Russia.' You are lulling yourself into fancied security. Some day you will wake up and find that it has been either a dream or a nightmare. You have crushed out the spirit of labor organization in some of your plants. By direct methods you have opened the channel of immigration to your plants and the American workers are there no longer. They are docile; they do your bidding without evasion. You think you are safe. So did the proprietors of the textile mills of Lawrence, and so do many other employers." The academy contains in its membership the leading thinkers of the day, and President Gompers created an intense situation by his remarks.